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Matthew Arnold's Work in Education

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MATTHEW ARNOLD'S WORK IN EDUCATION

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BY

EMMA HOLMER

A. B. KNOX COLLEGE, 1908

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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IN ENGLISH

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Emma Holmes

ENTITLED Matthew Arnold's Work in Education

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

Stuart P Sherman
In Charge of Major Work

Stuart P Sherman
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Daniel K. Dodge
Edward Fulton
Jacob Reitlin
H. G. Paul
E. G. Baldwin

Committee on Final Examination

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C H A P T E R I

THE EARLY HOME AND SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT OF MATTHEW ARNOLD

Before an adequate interpretation can be attempted of Matthew Arnold, the mature scholar and educator, an estimate of the influence and the advantages of the early home and school environment upon the boy and the youthful scholar of Rugby and Oxford should be made. Therefore consideration will first be given to the formative period of his life.

On Christmas Eve 1822, Matthew Arnold, son of the famous head of Rugby, was born at Laleham near Staines, in the County of Middlesex, England.[1] Laleham was one of the numerous towns situated in a pretty part of England on the bank of the Thames. The associations and the natural beauties of the country surrounding his boyhood home endeared it to Arnold, as is shown by his enthusiastic praise, in his earliest letter, in which he writes of "the stream with the old volume, width, shine, rapid fulness, 'kempshott,' and swans, unchanged and unequalled."[2] At the time of Matthew's birth, his father, then Mr.Thomas Arnold, was devotedly teaching private pupils and was gradually forming his theories of education, later worked out at Rugby, a school known to everyone through Tom Brown's School Days.

Mary Penrose Arnold, the mother of Matthew, was a woman of strong character and intellect. She was, throughout her life

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1. General facts of biography taken from the Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXII, p.70-75.

2. All letter references taken from Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848-1888. Collected and arranged by G.W.E. Russell, London, 1904. p.3.

deeply in sympathy with her eldest son, first as the child in school and later as the busy man of affairs. There was a frequent interchange of sympathetic and affectionate letters between mother and son which were expressive of the devotion of the members of the Arnold family circle. Although none of the letters of Matthew Arnold date further back than 1848, there is conveyed, in those written to his mother, a wealth of confidence and love along with communications varying in importance and interest, from the trifling plans and affairs of a day of routine to the most ambitious hopes and the feelings of success or failure.

The reminiscent tone of a letter written in 1859 when educational affairs made life a complex round of duties, shows that Arnold was fondly carried back in memory to the happy youthful days spent at Fox How. He writes:

"My dearest Mother: I have not much time but must not fail to wish you many, many, happy New Years. I keep planning and planning to pass Christmas and the New Year at Fox How, where I have passed them so often and so happily, now alas! so long ago, but I do not see when it will be practicable. To make up, I think of you all more and oftener at this time of year than at any other."[1]

The remembrance of small kindnesses, so vital in themselves, and the repeated expression of love and appreciation are not common traits, perhaps, in a man of forty; but Arnold, busy as he was, never forgot the anniversaries or special days on which he knew his mother would be expecting to hear from him. On her birthday

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold - Vol. I, p.149.

anniversary in 1859 his letter begins:

"My dearest Mother: I meant to have written to you the day before your birthday, but yesterday morning I was up at three and was incessantly traveling until four o'clock this morning; so that it is on your birthday itself I must send you my love and earnest wishes for the continuance of a life which every year we live makes us more feel the value." [1]

In 1828 the family moved to Rugby when Thomas Arnold's connection with Rugby began. Matthew at the age of seven, was returned to Laleham where he was the pupil of his uncle, the Reverend John Buckland. In August 1836 at the age of thirteen and one-half years the boy was sent to Winchester, a school of which Dr. Moberly was head-master. Within the course of a year Matthew was called home and was enrolled in Rugby in 1837.

At the time when his father became head-master, Rugby was representative of the lowest class of English public schools. The school had been managed under the old theories of classical training which had for years been the general standard of education in England. The popular idea prevailed that Greek and Latin should form "the staple of a gentleman's training." While Thomas Arnold evinced no eagerness to reject these traditional views of education, he did nevertheless place a new, broader interpretation upon them, than was commonly given. He was a humanist of the type of Milton in that he rebelled against the common wooden method of teaching language; and against the idea that proficiency in any language was the desired result in itself, instead of being the means to a

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold - Vol. I, p.339.

broader interpretation of life. Arnold's objections are well stated by Milton in a letter in which he protests against "the preposterous exactations by which the empty wits of children were forced to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment; and were thus mocked and deluded in ragged notions and babblements while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge."[1]

The necessity of bringing the best thought and culture of the world before his pupils was also evident to Arnold. He believed that this could be best accomplished by founding his whole educational system on the study of the ancient languages and by employing them "as the means of a large extension of the range of subjects beyond the traditional routine. Greek and Latin were to him the firm earth on which he sought to erect a fabric in which history, poetry, philosophy, ethics, love of truth, and aspirations after nobleness and usefulness should find their due place."[2] The work Arnold attempted was a development of traditional ideals rather than a radical departure from them. He was content to put new life, freshness, and meaning into old-time methods.

Arnold stated his position admirably when he said: "expel Greek and Latin from your schools and you confine the views of the existing generation to themselves and their immediate predecessors, you will cut off so many centuries of the world's experience, and place us in the same state as if the human race had first come into existence in the year 1500.

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1. Letter to Master Samuel Hartlib: Thomas and Matthew Arnold and Their Influence on English Education. Fitch-New York, 1848, p.31.
2. Thomas and Matthew Arnold - Fitch - p.31.

.....Aristotle and Plato and Thucydides and Cicero and Tacitus are most untruly called ancient writers. They are virtually our own countrymen and contemporaries, but have the advantage which is enjoyed by intelligent travellers, that their observation has been exercised in a field out of the reach of common men, and that having thus seen in a manner with our eyes what we cannot see for ourselves, their conclusions are such as bear upon our own circumstances; while their information has all the charm of novelty, and all the value of a mass of new and pertinent facts, illustrative of the great science of the nature of civilized man."[1]

In the study of the classics, grammar and philology received their due emphasis; but in the main, the stress of consideration was placed upon the effects of classical studies on others. Furthermore the aim of correlating the classics with modern thought was kept clearly before the pupils, in order that they might gain the proper perspective for the interpretation of their work.

The method of teaching employed was an equally important part of Rugby training. Arnold believed in the questioning rather than the didactical method as he considered it the means of reaching and awakening the intellect of every boy. If a pupil showed the ability to collect facts, to express them clearly, and to understand the principles on which those facts were based, his recitation proved satisfactory to the Head Master. As a result Rugby boys were trained in the ability to reason as well as to memorize.

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1. Account of Rugby - Thomas Arnold, Journal of Education, 1834.

The teacher as a moral force isadmirably exemplified in Thomas Arnold. The discipline and the moral tone of Rugby before 1827 were very inferior. The pupils were largely a crowd of young, lawless, high-spirited youths who knew nothing of order or discipline. The task of developing their latent good confronted Arnold. He undertook the work of reform resolutely, cautiously, tentatively by finding and retaining the good of the old system, and then gradually built the new Rugby upon the foundations of the old. From Aristotle, Arnold had gained the understanding that a moral basis is necessary for proper intellectual development; and that the moral and the intellectual faculties develop to their highest state when they develop concurrently. Although one of Arnold's great aims was to give a strong Christian tone to the school community, the number of religious services or theological lessons was not increased: the regular Chapel service was, however, an important feature of Arnold's school system. Here the boys listened to and were profoundly influenced by the sermons of the Head Master, in which "the prevailing note was an intense seriousness,--a deep sense both of the need of a high ideal in life and of the difficulties which attend its realization."

The conception which Arnold held of his school was unique in his day. His ideal school was simply an organized community - in which the members were mutually helpful, although some were there expressly to teach and others expressly to learn. To him education represented a dynamical process and not a purely mechanical force. He believed that first of all a school existed

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1. Thomas and Matthew Arnold - Fitch, p.85.

for the sake of character formation and the preparation for a life of wide activity and service. These results were best to be accomplished he believed by discipline and guidance, both mental and moral, rather than by abstract communication of knowledge. Arnold must have realized his ideals to a great extent and gained tangible results as the institution made a favorable impression upon Carlyle, who remarked, after a visit to the school, that it was "a temple of industrious peace." In general then the main themes of Arnold's teaching were the love of truth, the love of home, the conditions of honest intellectual work, and the responsibility which rests upon those who possess either knowledge or other gifts to make those gifts of service to others.

That these influences of a home of culture in which education was a subject of prime interest and importance, and strong bonds of family affection existed; and of a school where classical traditional studies and methods were combined with forces of character development were fundamental in the formation of Matthew Arnold's ideals appears from numerous passages in his letters written many years later. The home environment was well characterized in the following grateful words: "The more I see of the world the more I feel thankful for the bringing up we had so unworldly, so sound, and so pure."[1]

The deep veneration, the loyal affection of Arnold for his father, as well as his sense of gratitude and indebtedness are expressed repeatedly in letters written to the quiet sympathetic mother. A letter of Dr. Arnold's relating to the education of his

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol.I, p.25

children was found thirteen years after his death and was read by Matthew Arnold, when he was facing a like task of training his own children. That it aroused a great sense of responsibility of his own duty is shown in the reply to his mother - "I ought before this to have thanked you for sending the letter, which is ennobling and refreshing as everything which proceeds from him always is, besides the pathetic interest of the circumstances of its writing and finding. I think he was thirty-five when that letter was written, and how he had forecast and revolved, even then, the serious interests and welfare of his children - at a time when, to many men, their children are still little more than playthings. He might well hope to bring up children, when he made that bringing-up so distinctly his thought beforehand; and we who treat the matter so carelessly and lazily - we can hardly expect ours to do more than grow up at hazard, not to be brought up at all. But this is just what makes him great - that he was not only a good man saving his own soul by righteousness, but that he carried so many others with him in his hand, and saved them, if they would let him, along with himself."[1]

The freshness of the influence of Dr. Arnold and the firmness of the impression his achievements made upon his son are vividly brought out in a letter written nineteen years after the Doctor's death on the anniversary of his birthday. "At this time of year I am always particularly reminded of papa, and of what he accomplished in the few years he had. If he had been alive now he would have only been just sixty-six! Yet he has been dead

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold - Vol. I. p.55.

nineteen years! The interest of the world and of the spectacle of its events as they unroll themselves is what I regret for him; indeed, this is the main part of what is valuable in life for anybody."[1]

The desire to work as if always in his father's sight was one of Arnold's ruling motives. This desire is expressed in the birthday anniversary letter of 1868,- "The nearer I get to accomplishing the term of years which was papa's, the more I am struck with admiration at what he did in them. It is impossible to conceive him exactly as living now, amidst our present ideas, because those ideas he himself would have so much influenced had he been living the last twenty-five years, and, perhaps, have given in many respects a different course to. Still, on the whole, I think of the main part of what I have done, and am doing, as work which he would have approved and seen to be indispensable."[2] A few months later he wrote, "Now I am within one year of papa's age when he ended his life: and how much he seems to have put into it, and to what ripeness of character he had attained,"[3] showing how the fullness of his father's life and the height of his attainments were constant incentives to a higher and nobler duty on his own part.

In his poem Rugby Chapel, in which the main theme is praise of his father's unselfish life of service, Arnold rises to a pure lyrical note. He expresses by means of a comparison the

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold - Vol. I, p.180.
2. " " " " Vol. I, p.171.
3. " " " " Vol. I, p.183.

place Dr. Arnold occupied in his home:

. . ." For fifteen years,
We who till then in thy shade
Rested as under the boughs
Of a mighty oak, have endured
Sunshine and rain as we might,
Bare, unshaded, alone,
Lacking the shelter of thee."

Then he passes to the contemplation of his father's ceaseless activity and service in the lines:

"Yes, in some far-shining sphere,
Conscious or not of the past,
Still thou performest the word
Of the Spirit in whom thou dost live -
Prompt, unwearied, as here!
Still thou upraisest with zeal
The humble good from the ground,
Sternly repressest the bad!
Still, like a trumpet, dost rouse
Those who with half-open eyes
Tread the border-land dim
'Twixt vice and virtue: revivst
Succourest!-this was thy work
This was thy life upon earth."

The praise of the life which was supremely, unselfishly devoted to saving the souls of others is beautifully expressed in the lines:

"But thou wouldst not alone
Be saved my father! alone
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild.
We were weary, and we
Fearful, and we in our march
Fain to drop down and to die.
Still thou turnest, and still
Beckonedst the trembler, and still
Gavest the weary thy hand."

That the belief in the nobleness of humanity is due to Arnold's faith in the nobleness and purity of his father's soul is evident when he says:

"And through thee I believe
In the noble and great who are gone:---
Servants of God! - or sons
Shall I not call you? because
Not as servants ye knew
Your Father's innermost mind."

The final note of praise in the elegy and the summary of Dr. Arnold's service is found in the conclusion of the poem:

"Then in such hour of need
Of your, fainting, dispirited race,
Ye, like angels, appear,
Radiant with ardour divine!
Beacons of hope, ye appear!
Languor is not in your heart,

Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow."
Ye alight in our van! at your voice,
Panic, despair, flee away.
Ye move through the rank, recall
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
Praise, re-inspire the brave!
Order, courage, return.
Eyes rekindling, and prayers,
Follow your steps as ye go.
Ye fill up the gaps in our file,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march,
On, to the bound of the waste,
On to the City of God."

The next important stage in Matthew Arnold's educational development occurred when he entered Balliol College, Oxford in 1841, where he had gained a classical scholarship. Though not one letter written by the young student remains to give us an insight into his college days, yet we have numerous eloquent testimonies of the profound influence exerted upon him by his personal associations and by the spirit of Oxford.

The fame of Dr. Arnold had already reached Oxford and there was a place awaiting Matthew, as the son of the educator; but that he preferred to rely on himself to create a worthy position is shown by the lines once published about him in Balliol Scholars.

"The one wide-welcomed for a father's fame,
Entered with free bold step that seemed to claim

Fame for himself, nor on another lean."[1]

Balliol, Arnold's college, was noted for its scholarship and its intellectual activity. Dr. Jenkyns the Master, strove in every way to advance its reputation by encouraging and fostering the habits of deep study and discussion among its students. The general atmosphere was beneficial and suited to Arnold's aspiring spirit, as he came with a mind which had already become speculative and introspective through Rugby training.

The course of study Arnold pursued was such as to give him a wealth of classical tradition and lore. The study system was grounded on "the grand old fortifying classical curriculum" at which Arnold sometimes laughed, although he was never free from a certain dogmatism in his view of the necessary and desirable studies which should be an important part of one's life equipment. So thoroughly did classical standards rule Oxford that practically no specializing was done. A rather trite acceptance of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, as the essential branches of knowledge prevailed. Thus the Hellenistic spirit which afterwards permeated every phase of Arnold's activity and interests had a powerful incentive and a foundation in Oxford. Years later he expressed his life purpose in his Note-Books - a little volume containing favorite quotations and many of the principles insisted upon in his work - by the following passage: "My earliest purpose in life - to bring over into my own knowledge and into my own father-land the language and spirit of the solemn and distant East."[2]

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1. Glen Desseray and Other Poems - John C. Shairp, London 1888, p.218
2. Note Books - Matthew Arnold - New York, 1902, p.43.

A slight though very indefinite foreshadowing of Matthew Arnold's literary career may be seen in the two literary successes of his Rugby and Oxford days. In 1840 the first recorded poetical production of Arnold, Alaric at Rome won first prize at Rugby. The poem itself has little literary merit, but it has a definite Byronic note, which appears vividly in his early poems. The second literary achievement was attained when the poem - Cromwell won the much coveted Newdigate Prize at Oxford in 1843. Again Arnold had produced a commonplace poem, which nevertheless procured for him a standing among the literary aspirants of the University.

Aside from Arnold's literary interests in Oxford, we know from Lord Coleridge that Arnold belonged to The Decade[1] a small debating society where the members fought to "the stumps of their intellects." Grave topics were discussed from the subject which proposed "that Tennyson was a greater poet than Wordsworth" to the proposition that the"character of a gentleman was in the present day made too much of." The latter question was discussed in a manner which showed how highly "pleasant manners and a good exterior "were admired at Oxford. Perhaps the training in debating assisted Arnold's argumentative style which is shown to best advantage in his theological writings.

In 1844 Arnold took his degree in the Second Class in the Final Classical Schools. The fact that he failed to take a first is not, in itself, a grave charge against Arnold as a student. He was an especially fine student in the Classics and his final rank simply indicates that his interests were broadened into various lines instead of being concentrated into a strictly

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1. Matthew Arnold - Herbert W. Paul - London, 1907, p.14.

limited field. His high standing in the esteem of the University officials was proved by his election to an Oriel Fellowship just thirty years after the election of his father to the same distinguished honor. The election came in 1845, when an Oriel Fellowship was still the greatest honor an Oxford graduate could attain.

The Tractarian Movement was in the full swing of its activity the year that Arnold entered Balliol. John Henry Newman, the persuasive High Churchman, who was calling the Anglicians back closer into the fold, was mightily defending the State Church. He with his followers, among whom were Froude, Keble, and Pusey, were publishing and writing stirring tracts in support of the conservative church movement. In 1841 Newman published Tract Number Ninety - the tract which marked the height of the controversy. The thesis of the essay was this: "The Articles do not oppose Roman Dogma: they, for the most part, oppose the dominant errors of Rome."[1] This tract was received with a storm of indignation which swept through Oxford and the whole of England. The crisis in the Tractarian Movement had been reached. The storm which had raged so violently even in the peaceful halls and courts of Oxford gradually abated, with the final loss of Newman, the leading figure, to the Roman Catholic Church.

Meanwhile what of the Oxford students during this period of storm and stress? Since the University was the centre of the movement, those who were aggressive and interested must have been involved in the leading discussions and must have felt keenly the force of the controversy. The atmosphere plunged them into a consideration, often premature, of theological questions and presented

1. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XIV, pp.344-345.

what was almost a necessity of decision upon problems of the utmost importance in their lives. Scattered throughout Oxford were to be found groups of intensely earnest and interested men who eagerly voiced their opinions about the absorbing current discussion.

The lines of influence which this extraordinary revival of mediaevalism exerted upon Matthew Arnold seem somewhat contradictory in themselves. However they may be reconciled since one predominates during his student days of unsettled thought and belief, and the other serves as a perspective of his mature consideration of Oxford.

Although Arnold subscribed, in accordance with custom, to the Thirtynine Articles, he was unclerical and entertained no thought of taking orders. The fact that his father was one of the bitterest opponents of the Oxford Movement must have accordingly colored Matthew's own beliefs before he came under Newman's influence; however, Arnold was much freer in his attitude towards religion than most Oxford men of his times: although he lacked the bold assurance of his father's beliefs and was left in a somewhat skeptical position. He was thus left to solve the great questions of life for himself. The immediate effect upon him was the confirmation of his religious uncertainty. He was launched upon a sea of doubt and in his ceaseless questioning came back again and again to his starting place - an uncertain mental state. He questioned the basis of religion - the validity of man's belief in God - the purpose of life and its efficacy - he felt the foil of destiny and the apparent uselessness of human endeavour in a world of stern inexorable fate. This mental evil had not subsided when Arnold completed his college course; but extended through a period of

several years during which he was destined to voice the unrest of his age.

The subtle power of Newman and the charm and beauty of the ritualistic church impressed Arnold deeply. He revealed the power of these potent influences when he wrote towards the close of his life, about the warning counseling voices in the air during his Oxford days. "Who could resist" - he writes - "the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light through the aisles of St. Mary's, rising into the pulpit and then, in the most enchanting of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music - subtle, sweet, mournful. I seem to hear him still saying - "After the fever of life, after weariness and sickness, fightings and despondings, languor and fretfulness, struggling and succeeding, after all the change and chances of this troubled unhealthy state, at length comes death, at length the white throne of God, at length the beatific vision."[1] What wonder that the troubled restless soul found beauty and comfort in the solemnity and majestic peace of the impressive service. This phase of Arnold's college experience undoubtedly confirmed him in the sentiment "that the Middle Ages and all their poetry and impressiveness" were in Oxford.[2] Afterwards ever throughout his life Arnold felt that a complete religious expression of one's inmost nature was to be found in the ritual - poetical and impressive - of the Anglican Church.

Selections from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold.

1. Lecture on Emerson: In Discourses in America - Gates - New York - 1898, p.265.
2. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.34

Thirty years later Arnold was able to put a new construction upon the Oxford Movement when he was actively contending against the forces of the outside world - chiefly the great class of Philistines - who were truly of the raw-boned variety of Englishmen and were blindly and stupidly opposed to theworking of cultural forces. Here the singular influence of the Oxford Movement exerted itself - namely that it should at the same time work against a necessary liberalizing force and yet accomplish good by stemming the tide of a too great reaction against tradition and culture. Concerning that dual movement Arnold writes: "Look at the course of the great movement which shook Oxford to its centre some thirty years ago! It was directed as any one who reads Dr.Newman's Apology may see, against what in one word may be called liberalism. Liberalism prevailed: it was the appointed force to do the work of the hour: it was necessary, it was inevitable that it should prevail. The Oxford Movement was broken, it failed; our wrecks were scattered on every shore:- Quae regis in terris nostri nos plena laboris! ..... And who will estimate how the currents of feeling created by Dr. Newman's movements, the keen desire of beauty and sweetness which it nourished, the deep aversion it manifested to the hardness and vulgarity of the middle class liberalism, the strong light it turned on the hideous and grotesque illusions of middle class Protestants - who will estimate how much all these contributed to swell the tide of secret dissatisfaction which has mined the ground under self-confident liberalism of the last thirty years and has prepared the way for its sudden collapse and supersession? It is in this manner that the sentiment of Oxford

for beauty and sweetness conquers, and in this manner long may it continue to conquer!"[1]

But there were other voices ringing through the halls of Oxford. "There was the puissant voice of Carlyle: so sorely strained, over-used and misused since, but then fresh comparatively sound and reaching our hearts with true pathetic eloquence."[2] The fervent appeals of the Scottish peasant - with the call of his native moors in his soul touched the expectant heart of young Arnold with the stirring summons to work - the stern obligation of duty. But still another voice - the greatest of the century - came to Oxford - through Carlyle: the voice of the German exponent of culture - Goethe. The liberal attitude towards life in Wilhelm Meister and the signal insistance upon the fine arts as a necessary phase of national progress gave to Arnold a new and educative interpretation of life.

From far across the Atlantic came an American voice - "a clear and pure voice, which for my ear, at any rate, brought a strain as new, and moving, and unforgettable, as the strain of Newman, or Carlyle, or Goethe. So well he spoke, that from that time forth Boston Bay and Concord were names invested to my ear with a sentiment akin to that which invests for me the names of Oxford and of Weimar and snatches of Emerson's strain fixed themselves in my mind ---imperishably. 'Then dies the man in you; then once more perish the buds of art, poetry, and science as they have died already in a thousand thousand men.' "What Plato has thought, he may think; what a saint has felt, he may feel; what at any time

1. Works of Matthew Arnold - Fifteen volumes. London, 1903. Culture and Anarchy. Vol. VI, p.31-33.
2. Culture and Anarchy - Matthew Arnold - London, 1903. Selections from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold - Cates - New York 1898, p.267.

has befallen any man, he can understand. 'Trust thyself! Every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the Divine Providence has found for you, the society of your contemporaries, the connexion events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age: betraying their perception that the Eternal was stirring at their heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being. And we are now men and must accept in the highest spirit the same transcendent destiny; and not pinched in a corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pure aspirants to be noble clay plastic under the Almighty effort, let us advance and advance on chaos and the dark!' These lofty sentiments of Emerson, and a hundred others of like strain, I never have lost out of my memory; I never can lose them."[1]

These were the voices in the air "of the enchanted city of sleeping towers" calling to Arnold, touching him and reacting upon him during his formative years and later manifesting themselves in the great advocate of sweetness and light - the entrancing voice of Newman showing the beauty and comfort of worship - although he based it upon a creed utterly impossible for Arnold-; the puissant voice of Carlyle calling with pathetic eloquence to work and duty - the eternal vcice of Goethe summoning to higher and higher realms of culture, and the pure voice of Emerson urging man to fulfil his destiny by working in and through the Almighty effort.

There is an accordance with the popular saying, that the friendships and the personal associations of one's college

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1. Selections from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold - Gates - Emerson - p.268-269.

days are among the most valuable and the most abiding of one's impressions, in the student days of Matthew Arnold. He filled a wide sphere of social activity and made many friends during his University life. His nature was particularly gay, happy, and social. An old companion at Oxford once said of him: "His perfect self-possession, the sallies of his ready wit, the humorous turn which he could give to any subject that he handled, his gaiety, exuberance, versatility, audacity, and unfailing command of words, made him one of the most popular, and successful undergraduates that Oxford has ever known."[1] There was an undercurrent of deep seriousness and thoughtful earnestness underlying his social graces which many of his companions failed to realize at the time. The personal tribute following reveals this attitude:

"So full of power, yet blithe and debonair
Rallying his friends with pleasant banter gay
Or half a-dreaming chaunting with jaunty air
Great words of Goethe, catch of Beranger,
We see the banter sparkle in his prose
But knew not then the undertone that flows
So calmly sad, through all its stately lays."[2]

The crowning friendship of Arnold's college years and perhaps of his life was with Arthur Hugh Clough - poet and scholar. Clough was one of the best representatives of the type produced by Rugby. He was an especially favorite pupil of Dr. Arnold and was regarded almost as a son in the Arnold home. The early

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1. Thomas and Matthew Arnold - Fitch -p.159.
2. Glen Dessaray and Other Poems - John C. Shairp, p.218.

friendship between the youths deepened and ripened as Arnold and Clough developed; and a profound interchange of influence resulted, first in Rugby, then in Oxford, and finally as life long friends. Clough occupied a unique position in Arnold's estimation as he represented to Arnold the embodiment of the Oxford of the thirties and forties.

While Arnold was a person who wished supremely to help humanity, he had no warm universal love for them. This had the effect of intensifying and making his friendship with the few more vital to him. He felt a keen sense of personal loss and grief when Clough died at Florence in 1861. He told his grief and esteem for Clough simply and expressively to his mother a few days after the sad news reached him, in the following letter: "First of all you will expect me to say something about poor Clough. This is a loss which I shall feel more and more as time goes on, for he is one of the few people who has ever made a deep impression upon me, and as time goes on, and one finds no one else who makes such an impression, one's feeling about those who did make it gets to be something more and more distinct and unique..... I foresee that.....attention will be fixed on what there was of extraordinary promise and interest in him when young, and of unique and imposing even as he grew older without fulfilling people's expectations. I have been asked to write a Memoir of him for the Daily News, but that I cannot do. I could not write about him in a newspaper now, nor can, I think, at length in a review, but I shall some day in some way or other relieve myself of what I think about him."[1]

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold, Vol. II, p.86.

Arnold did relieve himself of what he thought about Clough when he wrote the remarkably beautiful poem Thyrsis, which commemorates Clough and inseparably associates him with the Cumner country. Arnold felt that the idyllic phases of the beautiful surroundings of Oxford were appropriately associated with the idyllic traits of Clough's character. No other piece of Arnold's work shows more thoroughly how the spirit of the enchanting Oxford penetrated his inmost soul and how the spirit of Nature - in her warm moods and misty beauty appealed to his aesthetic temperament.

The setting of the poem is expressed in a tribute to Oxford's lovliness:

"Kumid the air! leafless yet soft as spring,
The tender purple spray on copse and briars!
And that sweet city with her dreaming spires,
She needs not price for beauty's heightening,
Lovely all times she lies, lovely tonight!"

Then Arnold goes on and tells of the idyllic youthful college days when he and "Thyrsis"roamed the countryside together and conned Nature's lessons and made acquaintance with the country-folk. Then his futile regret expresses itself in:

"Here, too, our shepherd - pipes we first assay'd.
Ah me! this many a year
My pipe is lost, my shepherd's holiday!
Needs must I lose them, needs with heavy heart
Into the world and wave of men depart;
But Thyrsis of his own will went away."

Then follows the poetic statement of Clough's unrest and the reasons

for his disquiet:

"It irk'd him to be here, he could not rest
He loved each simple joy the country yields,
He loved his mates: but yet he could not keep,
For that a shadow lowr'd on the fields,
Here with the shepherd and the silly sheep.
Some life of men unblest
He knew, which made him droop, and fill'd his head,
He went; his piping took a troubled sound
Of storms that rage outside our happy ground;
He could not wait their passing, he is dead."

The toilsome struggle towards the pinnacle of truth which Arnold so painfully makes and the apparent lengthening of the journey, take their proper places as he feels the influence of the repose of his friend, who seems to tell him that Truth is still enthroned about the earthly turmoil; and that the visions he has seen of the radient goal are realistic. The poem concludes with Arnold's request that the whispering voice of Thyrsis will bring to him the best of messages through the "harsh heart-wearing" of life.

"Why faintest thou? I wander'd till I died.
Roam on! The light we sought is shining still.
Dost thou ask proof? Our tree yet crowns the hill
Our scholar travels yet the loved hill-side."

Arnold's profound reverence for Greek has been suggested and in that respect Clough's scholastic attainments were unsurpassed in Arnold's estimation. In the Essay on Translating Homer Arnold develops an elaborate discussion on the proper

method of the study and interpretation of Homer. The general trend of the thought is that the aim of a translator of Homer should be faithfulness to the author and an intelligent reproduction of the general effect of the Greek version; furthermore he should penetrate by his sense ability four chief qualities of the author, namely, thought and expression, words and syntax. One who possesses these qualities is prepared to attempt the interpretation of Homer. After Arnold has made these principles clear and emphatic he concludes the essay with the statement that the world has just lost such a scholar in Mr. Clough. In addition to these merits just mentioned, Clough had the two important invaluable literary qualities of a true sense for his object of study and a single-hearted care for it."[1] It would indeed be difficult to deem any one worthy of higher praise than to say that he represents Arnold's ideal student of Greek. Arnold carries this note of praise still further when he suggests that Clough had attained some of the Homeric qualities in his personal as well as his literary life as the following eulogy indicates: "In the study of art, poetry, or philosophy, he had the most undivided and disinterested love for his object in itself, the greatest aversion to mixing up with it anything accidental or personal. His interest was in literature itself; and it was this which gave so rare a stamp to his character, which kept him so

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1. On Translating Homer - Matthew Arnold - London 1903, Vol. 5, p.326.

free from all taint of littleness. In the saturnalia of ignoble personal passions, of which the struggle for literary success, in old and crowded communities, offers so sad a spectacle, he never mingled. He had not yet traduced his friends, nor flattered his enemies, nor disparaged what he admired, nor praised what he despised. Those who knew him well had the conviction that, even with time, these literary arts would never be his." His poetry "has some admirable Homeric qualities:- out-of-doors freshness, life, naturalness, buoyant rapidity. Some of the expressions-- 'Where roads are unknown to Lock Nevish,-' come back now to my ear with the true Homeric ring. But that in him of which I think oftenest is the Homeric simplicity of his literary life."[1]

Finally the goal of perfection and the aim Oxford gave her students is so eloquently expressed by Arnold that it would be mere sacrilege to allow any other expression of them than his own. Full of love and reverence he wrote: "Beautiful city! so verable, so lovely, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life of our century, so serene! so venerable, so lovely.

There are our young barbarians, all at play! And yet, steeped in sentiment as she lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages, who will deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection,--to beauty, in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?-nearer, perhaps, than all the

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1. On Translating Homer. Matthew Arnold, p. 327, Vol. V.

science of Tübingen. Adorable dreamer, whose heart has been so romantic! who hast given thyself so prodigally, given thyself to sides and to heroes not mine, only never to the Philistines! home of lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties! what example could ever so inspire us to keep down the Philistine in ourselves, what teacher could ever so save us from that bondage which Goethe, in his incomparable lines on the death of Schiller, makes it his friend's highest praise to have left miles out of sight behind him:- the bondage of 'was uns alle bändigt, das Gemeine!' She will forgive me, even if I have unwittingly drawn upon her a shot or two aimed at her unworthy son; for she is generous, and the cause in which I fought, is, after all, hers. Apparations of a day, what is our puny warfare against the Philistines, compared with the warfare this queen of romance has been waging against them for centuries, and will wage after we are gone?"[1]

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1. Essays in Criticism. First Series. Matthew Arnold, London, 1903, Vol. III, p.XI and XII.

CHAPTER II

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S WORK IN THE ENGLISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The time soon came when the seeker for truth and for beauty departed from the romantic moonlit gardens of Oxford and for his own part began the stern struggle of the centuries - the continuous warfare between ignorance and knowledge, darkness and light, and truth and error - in a word, he began the life long endeavour to bring the Philistine world nearer and nearer to the Oxford ideal of beauty, truth, and culture.

With the conclusion of his college days Matthew Arnold entered an entirely new sphere of life, in which he very soon encountered the hostile elements against which he felt destined to struggle throughout his life. He first assisted in the classical teaching at Rugby for a short time and then received the appointment of private secretary to the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Lord-President of the Council, and as such the minister invested with the power of public instruction. In 1851 Lord Lansdowne offered Arnold a position as Inspector of Schools. Arnold accepted and on June tenth of the same year married Frances Lucy Wightman.

It is a somewhat singular fact that Arnold entered into his life work not from a personal choice of the profession, but simply because he wished to marry and felt the necessity for the assurance of a steady income. He frankly admitted this afterwards in an address to the Westminister Teachers' Association, on the occasion of his retirement from office when he said:

"Though I am a schoolmaster's son, I confess that school-teaching or school-inspecting is not the line of life I should naturally have chosen. I adopted it in order to marry the lady who is here tonight, and who feels your kindness as warmly and gratefully as I do. My wife and I had a wandering life of it at first. There were but three lay-inspectors for all England. My district went right across from Penbroke Dock to Great Yarmouth. We had no home. One of our children was born in a lodging at Derby, with a workhouse, if I recollect aright, behind, a penitentiary in front. But the irksomeness of my new duties was what I felt most, and during the first year or so it was sometimes insupportable."[1]

A letter written to his wife during the first year of his appointment shows Arnold's disinclination for his work but also further reveals his belief in the importance of the governmental schools and his confidence in their coming greatness. He writes:

"I think I shall get interested in the schools after a little time; their effects on the children are so immense, and their future in civilizing the next generation of the lower classes, who, as things are going, will have most of the political power of the country in their hands, may be so important. It is really a fine sight in Manchester to see the anxiety felt about them, and the time and the money the heads of their cotton-manufacturing population are willing to give to them. In arithmetic, geography, and history the excellence of the schools I have seen is quite wonderful, and almost all the children have an equal amount of

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1. Matthew Arnold. G. W. E. Russell, New York, 1904, p.48.

information; it is not confined, as in the schools of the richer-classes, to the one or two cleverest boys."[1]

Any one who began his career in connection with the government schools, in Arnold's situation, might well be disheartened and discouraged, and impressed by the routine and drudgery of the position, when he gained an understanding of the exceedingly poor organization, the disinterested attitude on the part of the state, the general inefficiency of the teachers, the failure of the schools to reach all classes of children, and the lack of a cultural tone in the required studies, as they were ordinarily presented. Moreover in judging Arnold's early attitude towards his work it must be born in mind that he came fresh from Rugby and Oxford - full of enthusiasm and of devotion to them - and therefore, that the utter contrast between his new environment and his old must have made him doubly sensitive to the defects and crudities of the inferior schools with which he was connected, as Inspector.

The government school system in England in the early fifties was primitive and lacked good organization. A committee of the Privy Council was at the head of the Department of Education, which was established in 1839. This committee consisted of the President of the Council - who was a member of the House of Lords and of the cabinet; of the Vice-President - who was a member of the House of Commons; and of two others whose duties were largely advisory.[2] At the time Arnold's service began there were three lay-inspectors appointed to visit the government schools once or

1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.22.
2. The Evolution of the Elementary Schools of Great Britain Greenough - New York, 1903, p.6

twice a year and make reports about the condition of the schools and the general progress of education.

The state only gradually awoke to a sense of responsibility in regard to its schools,so reforms were slowly brought about. The maintenance grant a school received from the state was proportionate to the amount subscribed by the patrons of the school. The inevitable result from this state of affairs was that the poor and ignorant were left without adequate instruction. The state considered it the duty of parents to educate their children but in its policy overlooked the truth so well stated by Lecky, "Education in its simplest form, which is one of the first and highest human interests, is a matter in which government initiation and direction are emphatically required, for uninstructed people will never demand it, and to appreciate education is in itself a consequence of education."[1] Additional grants were made to head-teachers for instructing pupil-teachers, that is, those pupils who taught a part of the day. To improve futher the teaching force, grants were also given to these pupil-teachers in order that they might be better prepared for teaching. The force of school-inspectors was increased, with the result that the thoroughness and efficiency of those in office were increased.

Matthew Arnold's work as school-inspector naturally falls under three periods of administration: first, the Original System introduced by the Minute of 1846-1847; secondly, the modified system brought in by the Revised Code of 1862; thirdly,

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1. The Evolution of the Elementary Schools of Great Britain. Greenough - p. 11.

the transformed system, as the result of the changes of the Act of 1870.[1]

For eleven years Arnold worked under the Original Code, doing his inspecting thoroughly and conscientiously. He wrote annual reports from 1852-1882 with the exceptions of his years of foreign service. In these reports he took occasion to present his views on elementary education and the problems connected with it. So well were his reports written that they were widely read by persons, who in general cared little to consult Blue Books. He early formed his conception of the duty of Inspectors in regard to the exposure of the faults of the school system. During the third year of his official life, he writes: "An Inspector's first duty is that of a simple and faithful reporter to your Lordships: the knowledge that imperfections in a school have been occasioned, wholly or in part, by peculiar local difficulties, may very properly restrain him from recommending the refusal of grants to that school, but it ought not to restrain him from recording the imperfections. It is for your Lordships to decide how far such imperfections shall subsequently be made public; but that they should be plainly stated to you by the Inspector whom you employ, there can be, I think, no doubt at all.....

"A certain system may exist, and your Lordships may offer assistance to schools established under it; but you have not surely, on that account, committed yourselves to a faith in

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools. 1852-1882 - Matthew Arnold -Ed. by Sanford, London - New York, 1889 p.VI.

its perfect excellence; you have not pledged yourself to its ultimate success. The business of your Inspector is not to make out a case for that system, but to report on the condition of public education as it evolves itself under it, and to supply your Lordships and the notion at large with data for determining how far the system is successful. If, for fear of disccuraging voluntary effort, Inspectors are silent respecting the deficiencies of schools, respecting the feeble support given to one school, the imperfect accommodations in another, the faulty discipline or instruction in a third, and the failure of all alike to embrace the poorest class of children,-if everything is represented as hopeful and prosperous, lest a manager should be disappointed or a subscriber estranged,-then a delusion is prolonged in the public mind as to the real character of the present state of things, a delusion which it is the very object of a system of public inspection exercised by agents of the Government on behalf of the country at large to dispel and remove.....

"It is an ungrateful task to seem to deprecate, under any circumstances, consideration, and indulgence. But consideration and indulgence, the virtues of the private man, may easily become the vices of the public servant."[1]

Although Arnold put this strict interpretation upon his official duties there was nothing harsh or unreasonable in his attitude towards the teachers. In the same report just quoted he continues:

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools, Matthew Arnold, p.34-36.

"No one feels more than I do how laborious is their work, how trying at times to the health and spirits, how full of difficulty even for the best; how much fuller for those, whom I too often see attempting the work of a schoolmaster, men of weak health and studious habits, who betake themselves to this profession as affording the means to continue their favourite pursuits..... Still, the quantity of work actually done at present by teachers is immense; the sincerity and devotedness of much of it is even affecting; they themselves will be the greatest gainers by a system of reporting which clearly states what they do, and what they fail to do, not one which drowns alike success and failure, the able and the inefficient, in a common flood of vague approbation."[1]

His popularity with the teachers was very great. He was chary of praise of himself and would admit only two of his characteristics,which so eminently fitted him for the office: "One is that having a serious sense of the nature and function of criticism, I from the first sought to see the schools as they really were; thus it was felt that I was fair, and that the teachers had not to apprehend from me crotchets, pedantries, humours, favouritism, and prejudices."[2] The other was his sympathy with the teachers. "I met daily in the schools men and women discharging duties akin to mine, duties as irksome as mine, duties less well paid than mine; and I asked myself: Are they on roses? Gradually it grew into a habit with me to put myself into their places, to try and enter into their feelings, to represent to myself their

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools, Matthew Arnold, p.40.
2. Matthew Arnold - Russell - p.56.

life."[1]

A brother-inspector says that "if he saw little children looking good and happy, and under the care of a kindly and sympathetic teacher, he would give a favourable report, without enquiring too curiously into the percentage of scholars who could pass the standard examination." There is a simple little story told about the tall, critical, benign man as he tested the proficiency of some little children in the art of spelling. "Well my little man, and how do you spell dog?"

"Please sir d-o-g."

"Capital, very good indeed; I couldn't do it better myself. And now letus go a little furthur and see if we can spell cat." Chorus - "C-A-T."

"Now this is really excellent. (To the teacher) You have brought them on wonderfully in spelling since I was here last. You shall have a capital report. Goodbye."[2]

A final tribute expressing his sympathetic attitude was paid him by a friend: "His effect on the teachers when he examined a school was extraordinary. He was sympathetic without being condescending and he reconciled the humblest drudge in a London school to his or her drudgery for the next twelve months."[3]

In spite of the great amount of drudgery and routine in Arnold's work he wilfully developed a marvelous interest and pride in it. After about three years of service he wrote in the following words to his Mother: "I am not very well lately, have had

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1. Matthew Arnold - Russell - p.56.
2. Matthew Arnold - Russell - p.97-98.
3. Ibid.

one or two things to bother me, and more and more have the feeling that I do not do my inspecting work really well and satisfactorily; but I have also lately had a stronger wish than usual not to vacillate and be helpless, but to do my duty whatever that may be: and out of that wish one may always hope to make something."[1]

The fair judgment to pass upon Arnold's attitude, however, is not based upon his sarcastic humor when in a moment of weariness he thus describes his afternoon's work: "Here is my programme for this afternoon: Avalanches - The Steam Engine - The Thames - India-Rubber - Bricks - The Battle of Poictiers - Subtraction - The Reindeer - The Gunpowder Plot - The Jordan. Alluring is it not? Twenty minutes each, and the days of one's life are only threescore years and ten."[2] It is a small wonder that he writes of hard days when they were particularly irksome:

"I have had a hard day. Thirty pupil teachers to examine in an inconvenient room, and nothing to eat except biscuit, which a charitable lady gave me."[3]

"About four o'clock I found myself so exhausted, having eaten nothing since breakfast, that I sent out for a bun, and ate it before the astonished school."[4]

"I sometimes grow impatient of getting old amid a press of occupation and labour for which, after all, I was not born..... The work I like is not very compatible with any other. But we

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.54.
2. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol.I, p.320.
3. " " " " Vol.I, p. 23.
4. " " " " " " p. 36.

are not here to have facilities found us for doing the work we like, but to make them."[1]

"This certainly has been one of the most uncomfortable weeks I ever spent. Battersea is so far off, the roads so execrable, and the rain so incessant. I cannot bear to take my cab from London over Battersea Bridge, as it seems so absurd to pay eightpence for the sake of the half-mile on this side; but that half-mile is one continued slough, as there is not a yard of flagging, I believe, in all Battersea. Did I tell you that I have papers sent me to look over which will give me to the 20th of January in London without moving, then for a week to Huntingdonshire schools, then another week in London for the Inspectors' meeting and other matters, and then Birmingham for a month, and then London?"[2]

The fairer interpretation of Arnold, rather comes from words such as these:

"Partly nature, partly time and study have also by this time taught me thoroughly the precious truth that everything turns upon one's exercising the power of persuasion, of charm: that without this all fury, energy, reasoning power, acquirement, are thrown away and only render their owner more miserable. Even in one's ridicule one must preserve a sweetness and good-humor."[3]

Early in his career Arnold developed particularly sound and wholesome ideas in regard to the training of teachers. He utterly disbelieved that one uneducated person could educate

1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.220.
2. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.31.
3. " " " " " " p.266.

another. He considered the employment of pupil teachers advantageous and spoke favourably of their acquirements and general behaviour; but "the utter disproportion between the great amount of positive information and the low degree of mental culture "[1] they exhibited struck him forcibly. Their knowledge of grammatical rules, of minute details of geography and history, and above all of mathematics was to him surprising, as they often entirely misapprehended poetry and were unable to write well on any topic. As the means of elevating and humanizing the uncultivated pupil-teachers Arnold advocated the study of portions of the best English authors and of composition. He also insisted upon the social advantages of being in intellectual sympathy with those of the upper classes who were educated. Arnold felt his point was proved by the practical results all throughout England in schools where the teachers were poorly trained. In his report for 1855 he said: "It is now sufficiently clear, that the teacher to whom you give only a drudge's training, will do only a drudge's work, and will do it only in a drudge's spirit: that in order to ensure good instruction even within narrow limits in a school, you must provide it with a master far superior to his scholars, with a master whose attainments reach beyond the limits within which those of his scholars may be bounded: To form a good teacher for the simplest elementary school, a period of regular teaching is requisite: this period must be filled with work."[2]

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold, p.19.
2. " " " " " " p.56.

In 1861 one of the most important of all English educational controversies occurred, in which Arnold was deeply involved. A commission known as the Duke of Newcastle's Commission had been appointed to investigate the state of popular education in England. The report was made in 1861. The Commissioners decided by a large majority to recommend the continuance of state aid to both normal and elementary schools; they furthur concluded that the teachers were inclined to give the greater amount of instruction to the upper classes in order ,that the inspectors might be duly impressed; and finally,that only one-fourth of the entire number of school children learned the three great essentials of reading, writing, and arithmetic. It was also maintained that the motives which would induce the teachers to instruct carefully all the pupils, were not sufficiently strong. Therefore to bring forth the proper effort on the part of the teacher to teach at least three-fifths of the pupils to read and write without conscious difficulty, and to perform such arithmetical operations as occur in the common business of life, the grant from the county rates was to be given in the form of a capitation grant - depending upon the number in the school who were successfully examined in reading, writing, and arithmetic.[1]

The Vice-President of the Education Department, Lord Sherbrooke, then Mr. Lowe, and the Secretary, Lord Lingen, eagerly received the reports and proposals of the Commissioners and produced as the result of their deliberation the Revised Code. They went even farther into changes than the Commissioners, and decided that training schools should lose their lecturer's salaries;

1. Discussion based upon Arnold's Account of the Revised Code, Vol.I
(continued on next page)

that the auxiliary grants to pupil-teachers and school-masters should be discontinued: and that the entire grant system should be capitation grant based upon examinations in reading, writing and arithmetic. At last the authorities felt that a cheap and efficient method of popular education was secured.

At once there was a great outburst of opposition. The controversy waged in the magazines and newspaper and became one of the most widely discussed questions of the day. Matthew Arnold was ranged in opposition to the Code. In Fraser's Magazine, March, 1862, there appeared an anonymous article on the Twice Revised Code, which summarized the controversy very fairly and showed how the essential idea of education was misinterpreted. The chief arguments against the Code were that, as the Governmental grant had increased, voluntary contributions had increased and that with the withdrawal of state aid, there was danger of discouraging voluntary aid; secondly, the present improved system had been but twelve years at work and had had to practically construct a foundation by civilizing as well as by instructing the children; thirdly, reading, writing, and arithmetic were essentials to education but did not constitute the whole of it; fourthly, objections to the present system were untimely and were made without an understanding of the actual conditions under which the educators had to work: lastly the "payment by results" was a remedy worse than the disease it was intended to cure.

The opposing forces to the Code were successful in so far that an agreement was made to pay two-thirds of the Government

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of his Letters, p.192-197. Fraser's Magazine, March 1862 - The Twice Revised Code by Arnold.

grant on examination and one-third on attendance. The grouping by age was not demanded, as was first intended, but the pupils were grouped in six classes according to their abilities. The capitation grant on attendance was four shillings: the grant on examination was eight shillings, one-third of which was forfeited if a pupil failed in reading, writing, or arithmetic. Arnold's conclusions on the matter may best be given in his own words:

"I have never wavered in the opinion that such a consequence of the Revised Code was inevitable, and also harmful. To a clever Minister and an austere Secretary, to the House of Commons and the newspapers, the scheme of payment by results, and those results, reading, writing, and arithmetic, the most necessary part of what children come to school to learn - a scheme which should make public education "if not efficient, cheap, and if not cheap, efficient - was, of course, attractive. It was intelligible, plausible, likely to be carried, likely to be maintainable, after it had been carried. That, by concentrating the teacher's attention upon ennobling his scholars to pass in the three elementary matters, it must injure the teaching, narrow it, and make it mechanical, was an educator's objection easily brushed aside by our public men.....It occurred to me because I had seen the foreign schools. No serious and well-informed student of education, judging freely and without bias, will approve the Revised Code."[1]

Arnold willingly admitted that the application of this wooden test to school-work had some beneficial results -as

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold - Vol. I, p.196.

unpromising pupils were no longer neglected but were brought up to a higher standard in the three rudimentary branches. Moreover he constantly rebelled and protested against the mechanical and non-intellectual methods of teaching in which the effects of the Code resulted. He felt keenly that the main elements of school training, moral discipline and a general cultural development were not taken into consideration.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 brought a better state of affairs into the school system. The most salient part of the Act was the change from the State-aided voluntary system to the rate-aid. [1] Arnold had advocated for years the idea of a common tax for educational funds - for as he reasoned, all families should justly be required to pay a small subscription, whether sending children to school or not, as he regarded the school "as existing for the common benefit, directly or indirectly, now or at a future time."[2] This act marked the beginning of a fresh start in English education as equal educational opportunities had finally been secured for all classes - upper, middle, and lower - in so far as public schools were concerned. Thus Arnold was given the opportunity of better reaching the classes where he felt culture, morals, and education were most needed, through the agency of the schools he inspected. The attitude of Arnold revealed the presence of a stronger personal element in his sense of the responsibility of his position, than the average inspector felt - as he deemed it essentially a part of his duty to leave a permanent

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1. The Progress of Education in England - Montmorency - London, 1904, p.142.
2. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold, p.11.

impress of the desire for better things - a life of beauty and culture - upon the mind of each pupil.

The curriculum of the public schools as Arnold saw it was a means of reaching the hearts and lives of the English youth. He shared his father's views concerning the formative influence of school training, as he also believed that schools were an agency, which should contribute towards the mental, moral, and aesthetical development of the pupils. The humanities received a due share of emphasis, since they appealed to Arnold, as being a direct means of bringing culture in its fullest sense direct to the middle and lower classes.

Many of the common and practical schemes in present day education were recognized by Arnold as valuable and desirable and were given as suggestions from time to time in his reports. He early saw the need of infant schools. That more good schools were clogged and impeded in their operations by a mass of children under eight, at the foundation of them, than from any other cause, he concluded during the first year of inspecting.[1] So he advocated that infant schools were necessary both for the efficiency of older schools as well as for the proper fundamental training of young children. Arnold went so far as to suggest that the department of infant education should become a separate methodized system of its own, with its own specially trained teachers. These ideas call to mind the present elaborate system of kindergartens in which the study and proper development of the small child is the sole aim. One can readily imagine the great gratification

1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Arnold p.6.

Arnold would have felt had he foreseen the great care and planning that would some day be bestowed upon the primary educational system, so weak and unattractive in his own day.

The subjects Arnold wished taught in the schools belong in general to two classes - the industrial and the formative. To these a third might be added - that of physical training. The kind of industrial training which Arnold thought was most required in the simple elementary schools was needlework for girls. He reached this conclusion when he saw the economic conditions which existed in many English homes, especially of the lower classes. He tells of one instance which well illustrates his point.[1] A pauper family, in which there were several daughters at home, lived in a Lincolnshire village. The family were in receipt of parish aid. Among their debts when collected was found a dressmaker's bill for the making of clothes for all the women of the family. An incident of this kind reminds one of Carlyle's description of the thirty thousand unemployed needlewomen none of whom could sew; but all of whom could have filled a place of source in society had they been skilled in their line of work. Arnold felt that it was the duty of society to meet the conscious defects of the home in so far as social organizations were able.

Two of the present features of public-schools - physical-training and play-grounds - appealed to Arnold as both necessary and desirable. The want of space, cleanliness, ventilation, and play-grounds was especially characteristic of London school-premises.

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold - p.29.

Rugby had afforded unlimited opportunity for physical development in open air games. The visible effects of the system of exercise and play had convinced Arnold that the demand could justly be made of the State to supply the means for an all round development of the children in her schools. Therefore in his reports he cited air, light, space, and the free means of exercise as delightful features every public school should possess. In one instance the assertion is made that play-grounds form one of the best agents in the task of humanizing and civilizing the neighborhood in which it is situated.[1] In 1872 he comments thus: "I am glad to say that I find drill more and more taught. I think it would be well to allow a certain time taken for drill or calisthenics, whenever these are regularly and properly taught, to count as part of the school time."[2] A properly balanced arrangement was worked out by Arnold as follows: "Short-time schooling organized as in large towns it is easy to organize it, and balanced by industrial training and bodily exercises, is actually more effective, so its advocates maintain, than our present long-time schooling, besides its evident advantages in giving health and hardiness and besides its great saving of expense."[3]

But the formative studies were those on which Arnold laid the fullest stress. He urged the importance of the study of the humanities, as the means of bringing culture to the children of the masses. These studies had done much for him, as through them he had come to know the best that the world has ever offered

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools, p.48
2. Same - p169.
3. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold - p.243

in the lines of intellectual and cultural development. Therefore he advocated the pursuit of these branches, as the method by which others might be brought to the same position of appreciation. He thought that culture was the great universal want in English development. The nation had exultingly made great industrial progress and had been concerned with the state of her morals; but had completely overlooked the great central humanizing factor - growth in cultural lines. Arnold asserted that the spirit of the humanities - gained through the work of the public schools could adequately, in time,meet this deficiency.

The claims of Grammar, which could justly demand the right to be included in the curriculum, even of an elementary school course, were recognized by Arnold. He believed that the exactness of the subject matter counteracted the tendency to verbiage; and overcame the general and inexact answering of imperfect knowledge, since an answer to a question in Grammar must be either right or wrong and very specific. Furthermore, common-sense was employed in selecting and applying rules to any particular case, and common-sense, he said, could not be too much exercised. Lastly the subject helped to fulfil a true aim of education - the giving of a power to do a thing right.[1] Moreover, the teacher should use Grammar as a very simple logic, as a means of opening the child's understanding and of planting the beginnings of clear and accurate thinking. Here Arnold introduced a principle of wide application: "My word for all teachers of elementary schools

1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold - p.93.

who will listen to me is therefore this: simplify. Put before yourselves as simply as possible the problem which you have to solve; simplify your means for solving it and seek to be allowed to simplify them yet more."[1]

The personal statement of Arnold's ideas on the value of Grammar reads: "I attach great importance to Grammar, as teaching the children to reflect and reason, as a very simple sort of logic, more effective than arithmetic as a logical training, because it operates with contretes or words instead of with abstracts or figures .....the analytic character of our language enables a teacher to bring its grammar more easily within a child's reach; and advantage should be taken of this analytic character, instead of teaching English Grammar, as was the old plan, with a machinery borrowed from the Grammar of synthetic languages.....Teachers will find that by following the analytic method in English Grammar they save the children's minds from much puzzle.....and beget in them an interest in what is one of the most naturally interesting of things - language."[2]

The aim of culture is to know ourselves and the world and in order to reach this end we must know the best that has been said and thought in the world. As a means of attaining this aim Arnold candidly recognized the value and use of the physical sciences. The most important and of greatest value was what he called "Natur-Kunde" -an elementary knowledge of the laws and facts of nature. This branch took the place of animal physiology, physical geography, botany, mechanics, and other technicalities too mature

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold p.216
2. Reports on " " " " p.234.

for elementary pupils.[1] The aim of the study of facts and laws was not to carry the student beyond himself but was to develop a broader attitude towards life as it would naturally serve as a background for the formative studies.

The question of spelling reform enters into Arnold's discussions in his reports and admits of discussion though its bearing on cultural aims is somewhat indirect. Arnold's attitude is very much like that of the sanest position on the question which is taken today. He admitted the irregularities of spelling, and the difficulties which foreigners as well as English children had in learning to spell. But he said it would not be any easier if we wrote "leed uz not intu temtaishun." The whole object of spelling reform as he saw it was not to make spelling easier but to make it rational. Many blunders in spelling occurred in the efforts of printers to make words symmetrical, for example reflection for reflexion, connection for connexion. That the teacher should remonstrate against such blunders would, according to Arnold, be profitable both to teachers and pupils. Finally, he advocated that a Royal Commission should be appointed for the purpose of reviewing present spelling for pointing out anomalies, and making the proper changes.[2]

Still as time went on Arnold deliberately and unalterably held that Literature was the chief agent in culture. In 1872 he wrote as follows to an enquirer: "As to useful knowledge,

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - p.204.
2. " " " " p.196-198.

a single line of poetry, working in the mind, may produce more thoughts and lead to more light, which is what man wants, than the fullest acquaintance (to take your own instance) with the processes of digestion."[1] What Humanism meant to Arnold is well told by his comments in a letter upon the speeches Lord Salisbury made at Oxford on his first appearance as Chancellor of the University. After beginning by praising the skill and courtesy of the Chancellor the letter continues: "He is a dangerous man, though, and chiefly from his want of any true sense and experience of literature and its beneficient function. Religion he knows, and physical science he knows, but the immense work between the two, which is for literature to accomplish, he knows nothing of, and all his speeches at Oxford pointed that way. On the one hand, he was full of the great future for physical science, and begging his University to make up her mind to it, and to resign much of her literary studies; on the other hand, he was full, almost definatly full, of counsels and resolves for retaining and upholding the old ecclesiastical and dogmatic form of religion. From a juxtaposition of this kind nothing but shocks and collisions can come."[2]

The great fault with the reading in the public schools was, that it was taught as a mechanical art. The common reading books in use taught reading by introducing such sentences as these: "the crocodile is viviparours," "the slope of a desk is oblique,

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. II, p.292.
2. " " " " " " p.230.

the corners of the door are angles," or "summer ornaments for grates are made of wood shavings and of different coloured papers,"[1] or as he once heard a teacher, holding up an apple before her little pupils, saying: "An apple has a stalk, peel, pulp, core, pips, and juice; it is odorous and opaque, and is used for making a pleasant drink called cider." The perfect absurdity and utter unfitness of such sentences grated harshly upon the keen sensibility of Arnold's cultured ear, as he was pre-eminently a classicist in literature - "partly by temperament, partly by training, partly by his mature and deliberate judgment."[2] He knew Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Sophocles, and Hesiod; he also knew as well the best of French, of German, and of Italian literature; he could translate Hebrew sufficiently well to judge the current translations; he had delved into Celtic literature as his Essay on the Study of Celtic Literature shows;[3] and as a discriminating judge of English prose and poetry he had few equals.

It was a man of this type of culture and depth of knowledge, who insisted that even the youngest and the humblest child should have the best of literature, instead of being fed upon the husks found in the ordinary text book of reading. The judgment passed upon those books, which Arnold asserted were " jejune encyclopaedias of positive information, and were feeble, incorrect, colourless, trivial, and ill-written, was well made, when one considers that the type of book read was guiltless of inspiration

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold - p.105.
2. Matthew Arnold - Russell p.93.
3. " " " p.94.

with its dry scientific information or doggerel poetry: and that the pupils might just as well have been reading from the store house of a truly refining and elevating literature.[1]

Even second year students showed an amazing inability to develop in taste, feeling, and perception. One particular incident which impressed Arnold as an especially notable instance of the depth of literary ignorance among the masses, was a favorite illustration he used in proving that culture should be disseminated among all classes. Arnold had recently been reading Macbeth and while making an inspection visit, once called upon some second year pupils to paraphrase the famous line - "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?" He gained the following results which speak for themselves: "Doctor, can you fulfil the duties of your profession in curing a women who is distracted?" and again, "Can you not wait upon the lunatic?"[2] A youth who had spent two years at a training college produced another Shakespeare travesty which grated as harshly on Arnold's keenly sensitive literary sense as those quoted. In writing an interpretation of the celebrated passage from Macbeth:

> ....."Witchcraft celebrates
> Pale Hecates' offerings, and wither'd Murder,
> Alarm'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
> Whose howls his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,
> With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
> Moves like a ghost."

The student revealed that he had no deep feeling or taste for the poetically true and beautiful. The paraphrase reads: "The witches

1. Reports on Elementary Schools-p.88.
2. " " " " p.198.

who are under the control of Hecate, and who love the darkness because their designs are best accomplished then, have assembled at their meeting place with no other protection than a wolf for their sentinel, and by whose war they know when their enemy Tarquin is coming near them."[1]

In the field of literary criticism Matthew Arnold is universally famous for his touchstone method of judging the merits of poetry - in which he asserts that a few lines of the best poetry, thoroughly mastered for sound and sense will develop in one's inner consciousness a standard, by which one is enabled to discriminate not only between good and bad poetry, but between the better and the best. Partly for this reason and partly because he believed poetry was a channel of moral force, inspiration, and culture, Arnold always urged the somewhat old-fashioned method of learning by heart and attached great value to its results. "I believe," he states, "that even the rhythm and diction of good poetry are capable of exercising some formative effect, even though the sense be imperfectly understood. But of course the good of poetry is not really got, unless the sense of the words is thoroughly learnt and known. Thus we are remedying, what I have noticed as the signal mental defect of our school children - their almost incredible scantiness of vocabulary."[2]

The conditions which should govern the selections of passages for the memory exercise are determined as follows by

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools, p.199.
2. Ibid, p.210.

Arnold: "That the poetry chosen should have real beauties of expression and feeling, that these beauties should be such as the children's hearts and minds can lay hold of, and that a distinct point or centre of beauty and interest should occur within the limits of the passage learned - all these are conditions to be insisted on. Some of the short pieces by Mrs. Hemans, such as The Graves of a Household, The Homes of England, The Better Land, are to be recommended because they fulfil all three conditions; they have the real merits of expression and sentiment; the merits are such as the children can feel, and the center of interest, these pieces being so short, necessarily occurs within the limits of what is learnt. On the other hand, in extracts taken from Scott or Shakespeare, the point of interest is not often reached within the hundred lines which is all that children in the Fourth Standard learn."[1]

The summary of Arnold's reasons for making poetry a study of such importance was stated in the report for 1880: "Good poetry does undoubtedly tend to form the soul and character; it tends to beget a love of beauty and of truth in alliance together, it suggests, however indirectly, high and noble principles of action, and it inspires the emotion so helpful in making principles operative. Hence its extreme importance to all of us."[2]

It would certainly seem that Arnold was not true to his own convictions had he not thought that Latin should be given a place in elementary schools. He thus gave his judgment on its possible uses: "Latin is the foundation of so much in the written

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools, p. 228.
2. " " " " p. 226.

and spoken language of modern Europe, that it is the best language to take as a second language in our own written and book language, above all, it fills so large a part that we perhaps hardly know how much of their reading falls meaningless upon the eye and ear of children in our elementary schools, from their total ignorance of either Latin or a modern language derived from it. For the little of languages that can be taught in our elementary schools, it is far better to go to the root at once; and Latin, besides, is the best of all language to learn grammar by. But it should by no means be taught as in our classical schools; far less time should be spent on the grammatical frame-work, and classical literature should be left quite out of view." A second language, and a language coming very largely into the vocabulary of modern nations, is what Latin should stand for to the teacher of an elementary school."[1] For this purpose he advocates the disregard of classical Latin and suggests instead the use of the Latin Bible, the Vulgate, as it affords the vocabulary of the language which is at the bottom of a great deal of modern life and modern language.

Concerning French in elementary schools he says: "French, too has a special claim. To know the rudiments of French has a commercial value. A boy who is possessed of them has an advantage in getting a place. He knows this himself, and his parents know it;.....French has the educational value for our school children..... ..from its precision and lucidity."[2]

In the sphere of religious instruction is found one of Arnold's most characteristic features in elementary school doctrine. "Chords of power," he said, "are touched by this

1. Reports on Elementary Schools - p.165.
2. Reports on the Elementary Schools - p.208.

instruction which no other part of the instruction in a popular school reaches, and chords various, not the single religious chord only. The Bible is for the child in an elementary school almost his only contact with poetry and philosophy. What a course of eloquence and poetry (to call it by that name alone) is the Bible in a school which has and can have but little eloquence and poetry! and how much do our elementary schools lose by not having any such course as part of their school programme! All who value the Bible may rest assured that thus to know and possess the Bible is the most certain way to extend the power and efficacy of the Bible."[1]

Arnold however was approaching a more difficult problem than he realized when he advocated the free and universal use of the Bible in government schools. In his own mind, were clearly separated of course the doctrinal and the literary or historic phases of Bible interpretation. He seemed to take for granted that the Bible would be received in the same way by teachers and pupils, regardless of the narrow interpretation they in all liklihood would put upon it; or without a due consideration of the confusion which existed in the public mind when the question involved both the State and religion.

At any rate Arnold wished to have the Bible studied as a beautiful and ennobling work of literature which should be taught purely as a literature, showing differences in authorship and style, tone and temper, and revealing the historical circumstances of the book. He disposes of the question in an Annual Report and thus makes his position clear,----

1. Matthew Arnold - Russell - p.103.

"Let the school managers make the main outlines of Bible history, and the getting by heart a selection of the finest Psalms, the most interesting passages from the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament, and the chief parables, discourses, and exhortations, of the New, a part of the regular school work, to be submitted to inspection and to be seen in its strength or weakness like any other. This could raise no jealouses; or, if it still raises some, let a sacrifice be made of them for the sake of the end in view. Some will say that is but a small use to put the Bible to; yet it is that on which all higher use of the Bible is to be built, and its adoption is the only chance for saving the one elevating and inspiring element in the scanty instruction of our primary schools from being sacrificed to a politico-religious difficulty. There was no Greek school in which Homer was not read; cannot our popular schools, with their narrow range and their jejunal alimentation in secular literature, do as much for the Bible as the Greek schools did for Homer?"[1]

In order to illustrate his own conception of the purpose which the Bible should serve asa means of intellectual culture, Arnold wrote a Bible reading for schools. It was composed of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, running on continuously. He thus introduced the book:"At the very outset, the humbleness of what is professed in this little book cannot be set forth too strongly. With the aim of enabling English school children to read as a connected whole the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah." This one positive and constructive attempt to improve the curriculum of the Elementary schools failed, as its author somewhat

1. Reports on Elementary Schools - p.151.

pathetically feared.

The hope that his service would ultimately benefit his people was a cherished desire with Arnold. "For any one who believes in the civilizing power of letters and often talks of this belief," he writes, "to think that he has for more than twenty years got his living by inspecting schools for the people, has gone in and out among them, has seen that the power of letters never reaches them at all, and that the whole study of letters is discredited, and its power called in question, and yet has attempted nothing to remedy this state of things, cannot be vexing and disquieting. He may truly say, like the Israel of the prophet, "We have not wrought any deliverance in the earth! and he may well desire to do something to pay his debt to popular education before he finally departs, and to serve it, if he can, in that point where its need is sorest, where he has always said its need was sorest, and where, nevertheless, it is as sore still as when he began saying this twenty years ago. Even if what he does cannot be of service at once, owing to special prejudices and difficulties, yet these prejudices and difficulties are almost sure to dissipate, and the work may be of service hereafter."[1]

In summing up the future aims and scope of the elementary schools, Arnold says:

"The best thing for a teacher to do is surely to put before himself, in the utmost simplicity, the problem he has to solve. He has to instruct children between the ages of four and thirteen; children, too, who have for the most part a singularly narrow range of words and thoughts. He has, so far as secular

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1. Thomas and Matthew Arnold - Fitch - New York - 1898-p.198.

instruction goes, to give to those children the power of reading, of writing, and of casting accounts. He has given them some of the world in which they find themselves, and of what happens and has happened in it; some knowledge, that is, of the great facts and laws of nature, some knowledge of geography and of history, above all, of the history of their own country. He has to do as much towards opening their mind, and opening their soul and imagination, as is possible to be done with a number of children of their age, and in their state of preparation and home surroundings."[1]

Throughout the various lines of Arnold's endeavours and activities, as an Inspector of Schools, there runs the continuous, supreme, controlling theme that the State should organize its school system and educate its children; that it should humanize and cultivate them by putting before them the best that has been said and thought in the world - chiefly through the means of Literature, both Classical and Modern.

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Arnold - p.213.

C H A P T E R III

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S STUDY OF CONTINENTAL EDUCATION

Three events of momentous importance occurred during Matthew Arnold's career as School-Inspector, as three times he received appointments on educational commissions to the continental countries. Through these continental tours, he gained the means of temporary escape from the arduous duties and the routine of his official position. Moreover his cosmopolitan spirit was given the opportunity of observing other countries and of noting and studying other than English customs and ideas. He welcomed these opportunities eagerly and profited by them to the greatest advantage.

The view of life Arnold held was of unusual breadth. He considered himself a member of the disinterested literary class, whose express purpose was to maintain a non-partisan attitude towards national affairs. By this conception of his position, he prepared himself for the right attitude for judging and comparing the positions of different nations on the same questions. National bonds were never sufficiently strong to keep Arnold within the pale of the proper Englishman's sphere; but instead of conforming to national ideas he overstepped England's boundaries, gleaned from one country what he thought was best and was most needed in another, and then he attempted to bring home the lesson, where it would be of the greatest benefit.

Wilhelm Von Humboldt once said: "The thing is not to let the schools and universities go on in a drowsy and impotent routine: the thing is, to raise the culture of the nation ever higher and higher by their means."[1] This was ever a fundamental idea in Matthew Arnold's mind and was instrumental in determining his attitude towards the foreign schools he so carefully studied. There was, however, a two-fold aspect to his continental journeys, as the pleasurable phases of the tours appealed to him very strongly, while at the same time he was studying the foreign systems of education and working out their comparative relations to the corresponding systems in England. His point of view is further defined by his words: "It is expedient for the satisfactory resolution of those educational questions, which are at length beginning seriously to occupy us, both that we should attend to the experience of the Continent, and that we should know precisely what it is which this experience says."[2]

The first of Arnold's missions of inquiry into education on the Continent occurred in 1859, when he was sent as Foreign Assistant Commissioner to investigate and report on the state of popular education in France, Holland, and Switzerland.[3] The reports from this tour were two in number - the first of which was published in The Blue Books and afterwards was printed as a separate book under the title - The Popular Education in France,

1. Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol. XII.
A French Eton, Higher Schools and Universities in France; Higher Schools and Universities in Germany - p.272.

2. Ibid, p.273.

3. Thomas and Matthew Arnold - Fitch, p.200.

with Notices of that of Holland and Switzerland. An unofficial report, now famous as A French Eton also followed this tour. The introduction was afterwards published as an essay under the title of Democracy. This report, in general, contains a detailed discussion of Arnold's views concerning the relations between the State and middle class education.

In 1865 the second appointment was received and Arnold was again sent as Assistant Commissioner to study the educational systems of the middle and lower classes in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, at the time when the Schools Inquiry Commission was investigating the conditions of secondary education in England and Wales.[1] The report of this tour appears under the title Schools and Universities on the Continent.

The third occasion on which Arnold represented the home Commission was in November 1885, when the Educational Department was contemplating new educational legislation and wished a better knowledge of Continental Schools. Arnold was delegated to gain information on four specific points: (a) free education; (b) the quality of education; (c) the status, training, and pensioning of teachers; (d) compulsory attendance and release from school. The report appeared as a parliamentary paper in 1886.[2]

The eagerness and pleasure with which Arnold contemplated his first release from official duties is shown in a letter written to his sister, just before starting: "I like the thoughts of the Mission more and more. You know that I have no special interest in the subject of public education, but a mission like

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1. Thomas and Matthew Arnold - Fitch - p.201.
2. " " " " " p.201-202.

this appeals even to the general interest which every educated man cannot help feeling in such a subject. I shall for five months get free from the routine work of it, of which I sometimes get very sick, and be dealing with its history and principles. Then foreign life is still to me perfectly delightful, and liberating in the highest degree, although I get more and more satisfied to live generally in England and convinced that I shall work best in the long run by living in the country which is my own. But when I think of the borders of the Lake of Geneva in May, and the narcissuses, and the lilies I can hardly sit still."[1]

If one were limited to a single comprehensive term which would best express and summarize Matthew Arnold's attitude towards the educational systems of England - the word chosen would in all probability be dissatisfaction. Not with the interpretation of the word, however, which some contemporary reviewer of Arnold gave, when he said that Arnold was merely a carping critic - who was ignorant of the real conditions of English educational affairs - who was simply carried away by the superior manner and general brilliancy of the French, and was eager to disparage his own country.[2] On the contrary Arnold was possessed with a desire, that amounted almost to a passion, to see his countrymen getting the best out of life, by recognizing some worthy ideal and striving for it, instead of continuing in the modes of life, which led them farther down

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold - Vol. I, p.103-104.
2. Report or French Education: Quarterly Review - Oct. 1868
052 - Q Vol.125, p.473.

the roads to materialism, vulgarity, and brutality. In brief, Arnold thought that English civilization was at stake and that some pronounced measures should be taken at once to preserve and cultivate it. He believed it his duty to turn the current of national well-being into the proper channel. This, he concluded, could best be done in the immediate future, through the agency of a sound, national Public School System.

Of the three classes in English society - the upper were cared for in the public and private schools of high standing, while the middle and lower classes were practically without the means of public secondary education. Then in order to reach the middle classes who were the large majority and, as Arnold believed the future governing force, it was necessary to have an organized system of public education within the reach of all, so that a humanizing and cultural influence might be exerted among all classes, and a definite hope for a worthy national future be fulfilled.

Although Arnold frequently expressed his loyalty to the cause of the Middle Classes as a future governing body, it must not be inferred that he was enthusiastically devoted to their cause, but rather that he recognized their supremacy as inevitable and as a situation to be met with a reasonable attitude. His conservative position is well illustrated by his discussion of the era of the French Revolution and Burke's views. He writes: "Burke, like Wordsworth, is a great force in that epoch of concentration, as I call it, which arose in England in opposition

to the epoch of expansion declaring itself in the French Revolution. The old order of things had not the virtue which Burke supposed. The Revolution had not the banefulness which he supposed. But neither was the Revolution the commencement -- of a reign of justice and virtue. It was much rather, as Scherer has called it, 'un dechainement d'instincts confus, un aveugle et immense besoin de renouvellement.' An epoch of concentration and of resistance to the crude and violent people who were for imposing their 'renouvellement' on the rest of the world by force was natural and necessary. Burke is to be conceived as the great voice of the epoch. He carried his country with him, and was in some sort a providential person. But he did harm as well as good, for he made concentration too dominant an idea with us, and an idea of which the reign was unduly prolonged. The time for expansion must come, and Burke is of little help to us in the presence of such a time. But in his sense of the crudity and tyranny of the French revolutionists, I do not think he was mistaken."[1] This typical discussion shows that Arnold was working so faithfully, not for the interests of the rawboned crude Phillistines as they existed, but for the future of a broadened and humanized Middle Class.

While abroad, Arnold became convinced that he had found a solution for these problems confronting England, in her educational affairs. In the consideration of English Education the subject naturally divides into four parts - the Universities,

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold Vol. III, p.66

the Public Schools, the Private Schools, and the Elementary Schools.[1] As has been stated, Arnold's work as Inspector primarily influenced the Public Elementary Schools, while as foreign investigator his influence is more important in other fields, that of the Secondary Schools, chiefly, and of the Universities, secondly. In the latter line of reporting, however, his criticism is perhaps less "drastic and insistent."[2]

Arnold's first French report resolves itself, as do practically all of his foreign reports, into a comparison between French and English schools with a pertinent statement of the inferences England should draw and the methods she should apply to her own system. As a result from his studied comparison, Arnold draws the rather unique conclusion that the State might exert an educative influence through the form of her code of laws.[3]

In establishing this position, Arnold shows the difference in the attitudes of England and of France towards religious matters. In the discussion he pays special tribute to the skill, with which the French State maintains religion in its schools, and at the same time maintains the proper degree of aloofness from meddling in religious affairs. By this method the French schools inculcate precepts of universal and indisputable morality in the way, they most strongly appeal to the masses - in connection with religion - but with a religion which is essentially undenominational. Thus the French system recognizes

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1. Matthew Arnold - Russell - p.59
2. Ibid
3. The Popular Education in France, with Notices of that of Holland and Switzerland - Matthew Arnold - London, 1861, p.159

religious divisions in the population, but does not feel it necessary to meet them as England does. Instead France follows the policy of meeting all denominations upon a common ground by her attitude of impartiality. On the contrary, in England, the State makes itself denominational with denominations and cannot lose sight of religious divisions, with the result that the English State shackles her own reason and equity.[2]

Arnold noted a still further difference in the attitudes of the States. The French system undertook to put the means of education within the people's reach and to provide schools and teachers for all, while England made only an effort to make the best and the richest of the elementary schools still richer and better.[3] These facts led to but one possible conclusion, the important phase of which was not limited to the fact, that the actual amount of learning among the common people of France was greater than among the common people of England, but also that the result upon the temper and intelligence of the French population was vastly important.[4] This latter point Arnold develops at full length. He recognizes that the general intelligence of the French is among the foremost of ancient or modern nations, and is the source of their highest virtue - their natural equity of spirit in matters, concerning which, most other

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1. Popular Education in France - p.147.
2. Ibid. p.149.
3. Ibid. p.148
4. Ibid. p.158.

nations are intolerant and fanatical. Furthermore they possess a general spirit of culture, even throughout the masses, and a general intelligence which is partly, at least, produced by the State in its matters of legislation.[1] This educational function of the French State manifested itself in two ways - by its form and by its spirit.[2] Arnold thought it absurd that the law should be written, as it was in England, with the evident purpose of obscuring the point to be made, as far as the common reader was concerned. In France, on the contrary, the law spoke an intelligent language and spoke it well. Arnold's final conclusion is stated in the following words: "I assert that the rational, intelligible speech of this great public voice of her laws has a directly favourable effect upon the general reason and intelligence of France."[3]

Arnold noticed that there was an equal amount of reasonableness and equity in the spirit, as well as in the form of the French laws. On all critical questions, the law held a language equally firm and equally liberal. On critical questions of education and religion the law said: "Le voeu des peres de famille sera tonjours consulté et suivi en ce qui concerne la participation de leurs enfants a l'instruction religieuse."[4] Thus on certain capital points the State in France, by its legislation and administration, exercised a directly educational

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1. Popular Education in France. p.159.
2. Ibid. p.160.
3. Ibid. p.160.
4. Ibid. p.160.

influence upon the reason and equity of its people, and as a result a current of sound public opinion manifested itself.[1] England, on the other hand, was imbued with a spirit of non-interference on the part of the State.[2] The English State administered little and was in such constant dread of suspicion and usurpation, that when called upon to administer on a large scale its organism was found cramped by disuse and apprehension.[3] As a natural corollary the English people found little help from the central administration power, in their development of a higher intelligence.

In a letter to M. Fontanes Arnold contrasted the French and English relations between the individual and the State. The informal expression of his views follows: "I suppose your thoughts, in France, must turn a good deal upon the over-meddling of the State, and upon the need of developing more the action of individuals. With us the mischief has, I am convinced, been the other way. The State has not enough shown a spirit of initiative, and individuals have too much thought that it sufficed if they acted with entire liberty and if nobody had any business to control them. The sort of action which has thus become common amongst us - action at once so resolute and so unintelligent - produces the spectacle which made Goethe, who nevertheless liked and admired England greatly, say, 'Der Engländer ist eigentlich ohne intelligenz.' Therefore I have always wished to make the State the organ of the best self and highest reason of the community,

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1. Popular Education in France. p.161
2. Ibid. p.162.
3. Ibid. p.162.

rather than to reduce the State to insignificance, and to cultivate, in fact, the American ideal."[1]

Throughout England, Arnold felt that everything that was done through individual energy was well done, but that everything that was done through collective energy was poorly done.[2] The current matter of greatest popular importance in England, at the time, was the legislation of free-trade measures; which were created and carried out through the initiative of great ministers. The amount of popular discussion and the prominence given the questions convinced England, wrongly, that she was upon solid ground when her national sentiments and her public opinions were dealing with matters of trade, commerce, and economic questions in general. Moreover, the State, in its policy, scarcely recognized the existence of moral and spiritual interests of the nation, except as they had some bearing on intensely practical questions. In fact the main policy of the State was to act as if its function were to serve as the "organ of popular clamour," rather than as the "organ of national interest".[3]

The co-existence of national disadvantages which were likely to exist with the advantages of a great national system of education, were clearly forseen by Arnold. He observed particularly the disadvantages which existed in Prussia and America. In Prussia the effect had been to make a studious, docile,

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold, Vol. III, p.38-39.
2. Popular Education in France. p.163.
3. Ibid. p.164.

well-informed, but pedantic and sophisticated people.[1] In America the people had become energetic, powerful, and highly taught but were over-confident and self-conceited.[2] In this respect they lost much of their national worth. As Spinoza says: "The two great banes of humanity are indolence and self-conceit; self-conceit is so noxious because it arrests man in the character of self-improvement; because it vulgarizes his character, and stops the growth of his intellect."[3]

The Americans, however, lacked the influence which surrounded Europe, and suffered under a general diffusion of mediocrity. Concerning the value to be placed upon a national heritage of ideals Arnold aptly writes: "The proud day of priesthoods and aristocracies is over, but in their day they have undoubtedly been, as the law was to the Jews, schoolmasters to the nations of Europe, schoolmasters to bring them to modern society; and so dull a learner is man, so rugged and hard to teach; that perhaps those nations which keep their schoolmasters longest are the most enviable. The great ecclesiastical institutions of Europe, with their stately cathedrals, their imposing ceremonial, their affecting services; the great aristocracies of Europe, with their lustre of descent, their splendour of wealth, their reputation for grace and refinement - have undoubtedly for centuries served as ideals to ennoble and elevate the sentiment of the European masses. Assuredly, churches and aristocracies often lacked the sanctity or the refinement ascribed to them; but their effect as distant ideals was still the same; they

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1. Popular Education in France. p.167.
2. Ibid., p.168.
3. " " "

remained above the individual a beacon to the imagination of thousands; they stood, vast and grand objects, ever present before the eyes of masses of men in whose daily avocations there was little which was vast, little which was grand; and they preserved these masses from any danger of over rating with vulgar self-satisfaction an inferior culture, however broadly sown, by the exhibition of a standard of dignity and refinement still far above them."[1]

In Arnold's estimation, however, both France and England possessed safeguards against Prussianism and against Americanism - against Prussianism by the unusual fulness with which they retained "the savage virtues of the race;"[2] and against Americanism because they had the aristocratic virtues of not admiring too easily and not being enchanted with a mediocre culture.[3] Arnold further developed this idea in a letter written about the same time. "I see Bright," he says, "goes on envying the Americans, but I cannot but think that the state of things with respect to their national character, which, after all, is the base of the only real grandeur or prosperity, becomes graver and graver. It seems as if few stocks could be trusted to grow up properly without having a priesthood and aristocracy to act as their schoolmasters at some time or other of their national existence."[4]

England possessed stores of traditions and customs - the results of centuries of national and religious life - which

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1. Popular Education in France. Matthew Arnold. p.168-169.
2. " " " " " " p.170.
3. " " " " " " p.171.
4. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.152.

were educative by their very nature. Arnold valued and appreciated these formative influences but he saw further and urged that the government give its people their just dues - the "simple, but invaluable and humanizing acquirements, without which the finest race in the world is but a race of splendid barbarians. Above all, governments, in giving these, may at the same time educate a people's reason, a people's equity. These are not the qualities which the masses develop for themselves. Obstinate resistance to oppression, omnipotent industry, heroic valour, all these may come from below upwards; but unprejudiced intelligence, but equitable moderation - never. If then the State disbelieves in reason, when will reason reach the mob?"[1] For truly the aim, the policies, the laws, the ministers, and the public opinion of a nation express its whole spirit of education.

After his study of French institutions Arnold stated, fairly and concisely, the question of education which confronted the English in the following passage: "Why cannot we have throughout England - as the French have throughout France, as the Germans have throughout Germany, as the Swiss have throughout Switzerland, as the Dutch have throughout Holland - schools where the children of our middle and professional classes may obtain, at reasonable rates, an education of as good quality, with as good guarantees, social character, and advantages for a future career in the world, as the education which French children of the corresponding class can obtain from institutions like that of Toulouse or Soreze ?"[2]

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1. Popular Education in France. p.235.
2. Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol. XII. A French Eton. p.24.

The query shows that the heart of the question was not concerned with the reform of the public schools, then in existence, but rather with the establishment of secondary public schools, of desirable character, which would be within reasonable reach of all. In agreement with the general protest against his estimation of the English public school, Arnold admitted that the Eton school-boy was the finest school-boy in the world; but he emphasized that his point of contention was the fact that the nine public schools of England - Eton, Winchester, Westminister, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylor's, Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury were inadequate to educate the members of the masses.[1] The specific results gained by the English schools from teaching the qualities of freedom from affectation, manliness, high spirit, and simplicity were more marked than the results gained by the Toulouse Lyceum and Sarize; but comparatively speaking, the greater number of the latter class of schools in France made the total effect upon the French immeasurably greater.

The great Public Schools of England reached only the Upper Classes and a very limited number of the higher Middle Class. There was a general desire throughout the Middle Classes to make the children of the rising generation, as much like the children of the aristocracy as was possible. To meet this demand there arose a class of private schools of the Mr. Creakle type. Arnold utterly condemned these educational homes scattered so thickly through England; and not one of the least of his services was to create a public sentiment against them. He first became acquainted with Dickens, somewhat late in life but he realized

1. A French Eton. p.2.

that perhaps no one knew, as well as Dickens, the heart and soul of the common people. Concerning David Copperfield he wrote: "I have this year been reading David Copperfield for the first time. Mr. Creakle's school at Black Heath is the type of our ordinary middle-class schools, and our middle class is satisfied that so it should be."[1]

This book made a deep impression upon Arnold, as shortly after reading the novel he wrote an article with the title, The Incompatibles, in which he suggested that the reason the Irish disliked the English was due to the fact that "the Irish do not much come across our aristocracy, exhibiting that factor of civilization, the power of manners, which has undoubtedly a strong attraction for them. What they do come acress, and what gives them the idea they have of our civilization and its promise, is our Middle Class."[2]

Arnold thought of the Middle Class so intimately in connection with this Creakle type of school that he adopted an educational test in defining their limits: In the progress of his discussion he writes: "There is a book familiar to us all---I mean David Copperfield. Much as I have published, I do not think it has ever yet happened to me to comment in print upon any production of Charles Dickens. What a pleasure to have the opportunity of praising a work so sound, a work so rich in merit, as David Copperfield!....Of the contemporary rubbish which is shot so plentifully all around us, we can, indeed, hardly read too little.

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. III, p.83.
2. Works of Matthew Arnold, Vol. XI, The Irish Essays. The Incompatibles, p.58.

But to contemporary work so good as David Copperfield, we are in danger of perhaps not paying respect enough, of reading it (for who could help reading it?) too hastily, and then putting it aside for something else and forgetting it. What treasures of gaiety, invention, life, are in that book! what alertness and resource! what a soul of good nature and kindness governing the whole! Such is the admirable work which I am now going to call in evidence.

"Intimately, indeed, did Dickens know the middle class; he was bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. Intimately he knew its bringing up. With the hand of a master he has drawn for us a type of the teachers and trainers of its youth, a type of its places of education. Mr. Creakle and Salen House are immortal. The type itself, it is to be hoped, will perish; but the drawing of it which Dickens has given cannot die. Mr. Creakle, the stout gentleman with a bunch of watch-chain and seals, in an arm-chair, with the fury face and the thick veins in his forehead; Mr. Creakle sitting at his breakfast with the cane, and a newspaper, and the buttered toast before him, will sit on, like Theseus, forever. Forever will last the recollection of Salen House, and of 'the daily strife and struggle' there; the recollection of the frosty mornings when we were rung out of bed, and the cold, cold smell of the dark nights when we were rung into beg again; of the evening schoolroom dimly lighted and indifferently warmed, and the morning schoolroom which was nothing but a great shivering machine; of the alternation of

boiled beef with roast beef, and boiled mutton with roast mutton; of clots of bread and butter, dog's-eared lesson-books, cracked slates, tear-blotted copy-books, canings, rulerings, hair-cuttings, rainy Sundays, suet-puddings, and a dirty atmosphere of ink surrounding all.....By the middle class I understand those who are brought up at establishments which are more or less like Salem House, and by educators who are more or less like Mr. Creakle. And the great mass of the middle part of our community, the part which comes between those who labour with their hands, on the one side, and people of fortune, on the other, is brought up at establishments of the kind, although there is a certain portion broken off at the top which is educated at better. But the great mass are both badly taught, and are also brought up on a lower plan than is right, brought up ignobly. And this deteriorates their standard of life, their civilization."[1]

The great amount of difference between the public schools and the common type of private school just described could be no better expressed than by the difference shown in two letters quoted by Arnold in his report for 1867. In the public school there was a stamp of plainness and the absence of charlatanism as is shown by the following letter written by a girl in a public school:

"Dear Fanny;- I am afraid I shall not pass in my examination; Miss C---says she thinks I shall. I shall be glad when the Serpentine is frozen over, for we shall have such fun; I wish you did not live so far away, then you could come and share in the game. Father cannot spare Willy, so I have as much as I can

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1. Irish Essays. The Incompatibles - Matthew Arnold. p.58-61.

do to teach him to cipher nicely. I am now sitting by the school fire, so I assure you I am very warm. Father and mother are very well. I hope to see you on Christmas Day. Winter is coming; don't it make you shiver to think of? Shall you ever come to smoky old London again? It is not so bad, after all, with its bustle and business and noise. If you see Ellen T--- will you kindly get her address for me? I must now conclude, as I am soon going to my reading class; so good-bye.

From your affectionate friend,

M---."[1]

The other letter written by a boy in a private middle-class school shows the radically different tone which pervaded those institutions:

"My dear Parents,- The anticipation of our Christmas vacation abounds in peculiar delights. Not only that its 'festivities,' its social gatherings, and its lively amusements crown the old year with happiness and worth, but that I come a guest commended to your hospitable love by the performance of all you bade me remember when I left you in the glad season of sun and flowers.

"And time has sped fleetly since reluctant my departing step crossed the threshold of that home whose indulgences and endearments their temporary loss has taught me to value more and more. Yet that restraint is salutary, and that self-reliance is as easily learnt as it is laudable, the propriety of my conduct and the readiness of my sources shall ere long aptly illustrate. It is with confidence I promise that the close of every

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools - Matthew Arnold. p.131-132.

year shall find me advancing in your regard by constantly observing the precepts of my excellent tutors and the example of my excellent parents.

"We break up on Tuesday the 11th of December instant, and my impatience of the short delay will assure my dear parents of the filial sentiments of

Theirs very sincerely,

N----

P.S. We shall reassemble on the 19th of January. Mr. and Mrs. P. present their respectful compliments."[1]

Arnold concluded that there were two main reasons why inferior schools could exist in England. In the first place, there was a lack of proper supervision; and in the second place there was a lack of publicity.[2] France, however, met both of these requirements by having a periodic and authoritative system of inspection established. In England, Arnold suggested, that with the coöperation of the universities, in furnishing Inspectors and establishing a standard of securities, a general national improvement would be effected, which would result in a high conception of the function of public education.

There is a notable agreement between this idea of Arnold's and that which controls the relation between the modern State University and the High Schools of the State. A pronounced effort is made on the part of the average High School to meet the standards required by the University authorities, while the probability of the State Inspector's visit and the effect

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1. Reports on Elementary Schools. Matthew Arnold. p.132-133.

his judgment has upon their standing keep the work of the schools up to a standard that otherwise many would not maintain.

Arnold reasoned, wisely, that it was too much to expect of a single school to meet the demands of all classes, as there was a marked difference in the pupils representing each class. For one of the chief purposes of the school was not to level and to produce uniform results, but was rather to bring each pupil to a higher, broader conception of life. In order to accomplish the desired results each class needed to be trained from a different conception of the interpretation of the function of education. The upper classes needed not a "sedulous tenderness or something of the rose-leaf" but rather a school which was a small world in itself.[1] They were to be given a due amount of book learning, but at the same time their environment should develop in them a sense of republican fellowship, the practice of a plain life, and the habit of self-help.

Although Arnold claimed to be a Liberal he, nevertheless, believed that an aristocracy exerted a beneficial influence upon a sound country. He expressed their influence by ascribing to them one of his best known literary phrases: "I had occasion," he writes, "in speaking of Homer, to say very often, and with much emphasis, that he is in the grand style. It is the chief virtue of a healthy and uncorrupted aristocracy, that it is, in general, in this grand style. That elevation of character, that noble way of thinking and behaving, which is an eminent gift of nature

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1. A French Eton. Matthew Arnold. p.40.

to some individuals, is also often generated in whole classes of men by the possession of power, by the importance and responsibility of high station, by habitually dealing with great things, by being placed above the necessity of constantly struggling for little things."[1] He continues, "the aristocratic classes in England may, perhaps, be well content to rest satisfied with their Eton and Harrow; the State is not likely to do better for them; nay, the superior confidence, spirit, and style, engendered by a training in the great public schools, constitute for these classes a real privilege, a real engine of command, which they might, if they were selfish, be sorry to lose by the establishment of schools great enough to beget a like spirit in the classes below them."[2]

For the Middle Class, Arnold urged, schools were needed which would develop largeness of soul and a sense of personal dignity - qualities which were so noticably lacking among the great numbers of this class.[3] In the existing schools evils were found which the patronizing classes failed to recognize, therefore in such cases, the burden rested with double weight upon the State, to give those schools a national character, in which a spirit of noble greatness might be developed. "Thus the middle classes might, by the aid of the State, better their instruction, while still keeping its cost moderate. This in itself would be a gain; but this gain would be nothing in comparison with that of acquiring the sense of belonging to great and honourable seats of learning,

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1. Popular Education in France - Matthew Arnold. p.XV.
2. " " " " " " p.XV.
3. A French Eton. p.40.

and of breathing in their youth the air of the best culture of the nation."[1] Thus the loyal spirit of Oxford's son ever rings true!

For the lower class, a more elemental training was evidently needed, one which was concerned with the cultivation of the feelings of gentleness and humanity.[2] As the home life of the great masses lacked the influences which cultivate the higher sensibilities, there arose the just demand, that the school should supply, to as great an extent as was reasonable, the influences which the home failed to exert, by the attempt to place the pupil in an organized community which approximated the family ideal.

But the final stress Arnold put upon education was for the sake of the rising populace. The danger of their rising power lay in the fact that they yielded most easily to the English habit of becoming "a country of cries and catch-work,"[3] as a country whose public life is governed by political parties is likely to be. One of the phrases of most common usage in Arnold's day was -- "The state had better leave things alone."[4] This attitude which was generally taken, led Arnold to attempt to teach England what the true relation between the citizen and the State should be. In accordance with Burke, Arnold said that "the members of a society, are really a partnership; a partnership in all science, in all art, in every virtue, in all perfection." Towards this great final design of their connection, they apply the aids which coöperative association can give them. This applied to education will, undoubtedly, give the middling person a better

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1. Popular Education in France. p.X I.
2. A French Eton. p.40
3. A French Eton - Matthew Arnold. p.49.
4. Ibid.

schooling than his own individual unaided resources could give him; but he is not thereby humiliated, he is not degraded; he is wisely and usefully turning his associated condition to the best account. Considering his end and destination, he is bound so to turn it; certainly he has a right so to turn it. 'Certainly he has a right'- to quote Burke again--'to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favour.' Men in civil society have the right-to quote Burke yet once more (one cannot quote him too often)--as 'to the acquisitions of their parents and to the fruit of their own industry' so also 'to the improvement of their offspring, to instruction in life, and to consolation in death;"[1] since government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants."[2]

In regard to Compulsory Education, Arnold disagreed with the State, as he was an advocate of optional attendance. The mass of people, he believed, would become educated only where a national feeling for education existed, and that no amount of legislation could compel a group of disinterested labourers, or members of any other class of society to become cultured and seized with the desire for the best things. Strict school laws, he furthermore believed, led to the practice of voluntary deceit on the part of the children of parents, who were merely concerned with the matter of a livlihood. The frequent cases of the violation of School Laws in the United States, especially, in the districts where child labor exists, would seem to show that Arnold's position

1. A French Eton. Matthew Arnold. p.50-51.
2. Ibid. p.53.

was well taken. On the other hand,in a community where education is a matter of popular interest and concern, truancy and school law violation are conparatively scarce.

The Parliament of 1868-1874, however, strenuously striving for reform, prepared and passed a Bill to establish Compulsory Education.[1] The feature of the Bill that Arnold criticized adversely, dealt with the phrase that limited the act to compulsory education for the children of the poor and did not apply it to the children of the upper and middle classes. He took this stand because the experience of the Continent showed that any beneficial effects from the law were impossible unless it were made of equal and universal application.[2]

Friendship's Garland contains a pertinent statement of Arnold's views on this subject in a delightfully original manner.[3] An Englishman - who speaks for the British Philistine - converses with a cultivated Prussian,-Arminius, who is Matthew Arnold veiled in delicate ironical humor - on the question of English institutions. Together they go to a country town where they attend Petty Sessions. Here an old peasant is being tried for poaching. The English friend is shocked and expresses concern for the future of the class the peasant represents, by suggesting, that the time has come when Compulsory Education is needed, for as he continues, "the gap between them and our educated and intelligent classes is really too frightful." "Your educated and intelligent classes! sneered Arminius, in his very most offensive manner; where are they? I should like to see them."[4]

1. Matthew Arnold. Russell. p.88.
2. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. Matthew Arnold. p.278.
3. Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol. VI, Friendship's Garland. p.286.
4. Ibid

Straightway the loyal English friend leads the way into the justice room where Arminius has the chance of observing three typical examples of English education and intelligence - Lord Lumpington, the Rev. Esau Hittall, and Mr. Bottles.[1] Then Arminius asks about their training and qualifications for the positions held. The reply is that the three magistrates represent three phases of national life, land, religion, and commerce - one the peer of an old family and estate, one a clergyman, and the last a self-made middle-class man. Then he states their respective political beliefs - one a Constitutional Whig, one an old Tory, and the last a pronounced Radical.

Arminius only replies by insisting upon hearing about their education and intelligence. The complacent Philistine goes on to say that Lord Lumpington was educated at Eton, Mr. Hittall at Charterhouse, and Mr. Bottles at Lycurgus House Academy. But Arminius insists still further upon knowing what they learned. "They followed,' said I, the grand, old, fortyfying, classical curriculum." 'Did they know anything when they left?' asked Arminius. I have seen some longs and shorts of Hittall's, said I, 'about the Calydonian Boar, which were not bad. But you surely don't need me to tell you, Arminius, that it is rather in training and bracing the mind for future acquisition,-- a course of mental gymnastics, we call it,--than in teaching any set thing, that the classical curriculum is so valuable.' 'Were the minds of Lord Lumpington and Mr. Hittall much braced by their mental gymnastics?' inquired Arminius. 'Well,' I answered, 'during their three years at Oxford they were so much occupied with

1. Friendship Garland. Matthew Arnold. Account based on pp.286-291

Bullingdon and hunting that there was no great opportunity to judge. But for my part I have always thought that their both getting their degree at last with flying colours, after three weeks of a famous coach for fast men, four nights without going to bed, and an incredible consumption of wet towels, strong cigars, and brandy - and water, was one of the most astonishing feats of mental gymnastics I ever heard of."

Then follows the account of Bottle's education so delightfully told by Arnold that it merits quotation: "Mr. Bottles was brought up at the Lycurgus House Academy, Peckham. You are not to suppose from the name of Lycurgus that any Latin and Greek was taught in the establishment; the name only indicates the moral discipline, and the strenuous earnest character imparted there. As to the instruction, the thoughtful educator who was principal --Archimedes Silverpump, Ph.D., - had modern views. 'We must be men of our age,' he used to say. 'Useful knowledge, living languages, and the forming of the mind through observation and experiment, these are the fundamental articles of my educational creed.' Or, as I have heard his pupil Bottles put it in his expansive moments after dinner: 'Original man, Silverpump! fine mind! fine system! None of your antiquated rubbish - all practical work - latest discoveries in science - mind constantly kept excited - lots of interesting experiments - lights of all colours -fizz! fizz! bang! bang! that's what I call forming a man."

In the progress of the discussion Arminius asserts that the natural course of events sends boys of the wealthy class

to school - "don't suppose that, by doing this," he says, "you are applying the principle of Compulsory Education fairly; you are not interposing, for the rich, education as a bar or condition between them and what they aim at."-------"In my country" - he continues - we should have begun to put a pressure on those future magistrates at school. Before we allowed Lord Lumpington and Mr. Hittall to go to the University at all, we should have examined them ---There would have been some Mr. Grote as School Board Commissary, pitching them questions about English literature; and these young men would have been kept from the University, as Diggs' boys are kept from their bird-scaring, till they had instructed themselves. Then, if, after three years of their University, they wanted to be magistrates, another pressure! - a great Civil Service Examination before a Board of Experts, an examination in English law, Roman law, English history, history of jurisprudence."

"A most abominable liberty to take with Lumpington and Hittall," is the reply.

"Then your compulsory education is a most abominable liberty to take with Diggs' boys," Arminius takes occasion to say--- "Oh, but" - the Englishman answered "to live at all, even at the lowest stage of human life, a man needs instruction." "Well," retorts Arminius, "and to administer at all, even at the lowest stage of public administration, a man needs instruction."

"We have never found it so," says the imperturable Philistine.[1] And so on the conversation continues, the trend of

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1. Friendship Garland - Matthew Arnold. pp.292-295

which is that the beatification of the whole English people is attempted through "clap-trap"[1] rather than that the elevation of the nation should be attempted through culture.

Back of this subtle ironical exterior there was the true servant of the English people and his heartfelt concern for their welfare. This sympathetic earnestness is best revealed in the personal phase of Arnold's writing. In one of his letters to his sister there is a characteristic passage which shows his true devotion to his profession and the good he hoped to accomplish. The passage reads: "However, the subject being secondary instruction, an instruction in direct correspondence with higher instruction and intellectual life, I cannot admit that any countries are more worth studying, as regards secondary instruction, than those in which intellectual life has been carried farthest - Germany first, and, in the second degree, France. Indeed, I am convinced that as Science, in the widest sense of the word, meaning a true knowledge of things as the basis of our operations, becomes, as it does become, more of a power in the world, the weight of the nations and men who have carried the intellectual life farthest will be more and more felt; indeed I see signs of this already. That England may run well in this race is my deepest desire; and to stimulate her and to make her feel how many clogs she wears, and how much she has to do in order to run in it as her genius gives her the power to run, is the object of all I do."[2] At one

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1. Friendship Garland. p.319.
2. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.324.

time he contrasted his work in England with that of Renan in France, by the following parallel; that Renan attempted to inculcate the Hebrianelement of morality in the public life, whereas, the object of Arnold's own endeavour was to inculcate the Hellenistic element of intelligence, in the highest sense of the word among the English.[1]

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. I, p.147.

C H A P T E R IV

MATTHEW ARNOLD THIRTY YEARS AFTER

Matthew Arnold once said: "That is the thing - to write what will stand."[1] He realized with an unusual degree of keenness, the value and importance of including the elements of permanency in his work. In order to determine if Arnold's critical attitude and attempted work of reconstruction in education were worth while, practical, of enduring benefit, and of broad application, it is necessary to know what system of education he proposed substituting for the old, what his supplementary reforms were, and whether his theories are applicable to the educational problems of today.

Arnold's discussion of the conditions which prevailed in England is made more significant by the comparison he drew between the schools of England and Italy after his visit to Rome in 1865. He published the report of his interview with Cardinal Antonelli on his return to England and in this account he writes: "When he asked me what I thought of the Roman schools, I said that, for the first time I came on the Continent, I was reminded of England. I meant, in real truth, that there was the same easy-going and absence of system on all sides, the same powerlessness and indifference of the State, the same independence in single

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. III, p.31.

institutions, the same free course for abuses, the same confusion, the same lack of all idea of co-ordering things, as the French say - that is, of making them work fitly together to a fit end; the same waste of power, therefore the same extravagance, and the same poverty of result."[1]

Arnold developed this theme until it finally resulted in a somewhat revolutionary plan for the Public Schools of his country. He saw the great necessity for central authoritative administrative power, so he accordingly suggested that a Minister of Education should be appointed, who should be the centre of responsibility and should preside over the whole educational system of the country, including the Universities, the Public Schools, the Middle Class Schools, and the Elementary Schools.[2] The Minister should have a Council of Education, composed of persons who were fitted to discuss educational topics, to assist him. The duties of this Council should be "to advise on the graduation of schools, on the organization of examinations both in the schools and in the universities, and to adjust them to each other."[3] Another feature of Arnold's plan was that the number of universities should not be increased but that all educational institutions modeled after them were to be co-ordinated with the existing universities; while the functions of the universities were to establish "faculties" in central districts, to furnish lecturers, to give examinations, and to grant degrees. Arnold suggested further that the entire country should be divided into eight or ten districts, each of which should have a Provincial School-Board, representing the State and serving as a means of communication

1. Matthew Arnold. Russell. p.75
2. Ibid. p.77
3. Ibid. p.78.

between the central authority and the schools in a particular district. The amount of interference, inspection, and control should vary in degree with the standard of the school.[1]

Then Arnold proposed the more radical changes in the scheme. Mr. Creakle and his colleagues were to be gradually starved out by a large group of small grammar-schools, designed to be the chief training centres for the Middle Class. The high standard of State authority and inspection under the charge of competent state officers would guarantee the dignity and general excellence of the school.[2] After his study of foreign schools, Arnold decided that the greatest change needed in English educational administration, in order that the remodeled system might be adopted, was the introduction of the Municipal System. The necessity for its adoption was stated by Arnold thus: "The Public School for the people must rest upon the municipal organization of the country. In France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, the public elementary school has, and exists by having, the Commune, and the Municipal Government of the Commune, as its foundations, and it could not exist without them. But in England we have our municipal organization state to get: the country districts, with us, have at present only the feudal and ecclesiastical organization of the Middle Ages, or of France before the Revolution----the real preliminary to an effective system of popular education is, in fact, to provide the country with an effective municipal organization."[3]

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1. Matthew Arnold. Russell. p.78.
2. Ibid. pp.78-79.
3. Ibid. pp.80-81.

The English public had a common disregard of the comprehensive purpose of state educational establishments. Arnold saw farther than the ordinary person and advocated that the public schools should fix the standard of serious preparation and of special fitness for every branch of employment, since this standard would, inevitably, react upon the whole intellectual habit of the country.[1] Secondly, he believed, that these State establishments should serve the purpose of representing the State and the community in an endeavour, through which a civilizing influence should be exerted. Moreover, the State of England in her present condition could not afford to do without this civilizing agency, nor were the activities of corporations or of individuals sufficient to compensate for such national institutions, as served to concentrate the lives of culture. For, "what the State, the collective permanent nation, honour, the passing people honour; what the State neglects, they think is of no consequence."[2]

In his further comparison of the higher institutions of learning of England with those of the Continent, Arnold placed particular emphasis upon three points for England's special consideration. First, he said that the middle class in England was brought up on the second plane, whereas on the Continent they were brought up on the first plane.[3] Since the inferior middle-class schools failed to develop cultural qualities and gave no training in developing the ability to govern, or in cultivating the ready use of thought and reason, the middle-classes were unable to meet

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1. Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol. XII. Higher Schools and Universities in France. p.267.
2. Ibid. pp.268-269.
3. Ibid. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.279.

new situations in governmental affairs or to solve new problems of either social or individual import.

Arnold developed the following as his second point. "The study of Continental education will show our educated and intelligent classes that many things which they wish for cannot be done as isolated operations, but must, if they are to be done at all, come in as parts of a regularly designed whole."[1] The particular situation which existed in the English industrial world originated Arnold's observation just quoted. A wide-spread interest in industrial affairs prevailed and as a result the artisan's skill was a question of great concern. In order to further England's industrial preeminence a demand for industrial or technical schools arose. The average citizen was convinced that the necessary and desirable education was obtained, when a pupil from the elementary schools, who was trained under the Revised Code entered a special school and became mechanically perfect in a single line of mechanical skill. From his continental study Arnold saw that the proper rank for a special school was the last period of educational development and fitly followed a thorough fundamental, broadening training in both elementary and secondary schoos, for not until a foundational education is gained can the proper kind of specializing be done.

These ideas of Arnold are maintained today by many who are attempting to swing back the pendulum from the pre-mature over-technical specialization in our modern institutions to a

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1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.279.

wholesome broadening preparation in the sphere of the humanities. This phase of Arnold's active service in making others realize that, education should result in more than the mere equipment to assist one in gaining a livlihood, is instrumental today. The popular spirit is gradually evolving from the overpowering sway of the materialistic idea of splendor and wealth to that of the belief in a kingdom of ideas,where the culture and training of the mind are considered worth while, although they are of no immediate palpable utility in some practical profession.

The third point follows. Arnold observed that Foreign Governments take into counsel the best educational opinion of their country when the administration of educational affairs occur.[1] Whereas, in England, the governmental organization made it possible for educational matters to be settled by men often of inferior education who had no especial fitnessfor the position. At the same time a common disregard existed of the opinion of those qualified, through education and interest, to pass judgment upon educational questions. Arnold gave as the reasons for England's attitude on the question, her disbelief in government and her belief in machinery. Once again an application of Arnold's principles might be made to our educational affairs as they are now controlled. There is throughout our system of public school control no test to determine the fitness of those who dictate in such matters, from state legislators to local school-boards. It is true that a large share of immediate public school decisions rests in the control of those immediately in charge of the institutions, yet it

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1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.281.

is equally true that the question of ultimate decision rests with external authorities who have a meagre knowledge, at best, of the situation. It not more reasonable to expect that a man who knows nothing of the administration of such affairs should hold the management of them, than that a man who is untrained in the professions should be accepted in the place of one who is skilled. If a uniform standardization were adopted concerning those who control our public schools an increase in the efficiency of our educational system would result, since those men would be chosen who understand more of the significance and meaning of education, than the average office holder of such positions now possess. As a result, regard and recognition would be given to those who believe in cultural pursuits for their own sake and the results of the active service of such officials would be noticeable, throughout the nation, in an increase of concern for the fine arts and cultural activities, instead of the furtherance of the present high opinion of mere energy and prosperity.

The question of education which was of greatest importance in Arnold's day and which had as its main issue the relative values of Literature and Science has retained much of its significance today. The question of striving for the cultural ideal, which Arnold so valiantly defended still confronts us. While there is perhaps less of a universal public discussion than in Arnold's day, yet the period of discussion has not entirely passed by and the merest thought about our educational situation will show that the relative places of Literature and Science in our curriculum are still undetermined. The importance to us of Arnold's

work, is to determine which of his ideas and theories will be of service to a generation thirty years after. If we find such ideas and theories then Matthew Arnold is still a living and working force in the educational world and a formative influence of the Twentieth Century.

In order to gain a proper basis for judging Arnold's place in the educational world it is necessary to know what his contemporaries thought of the purpose and value of education, as compared with the principles for which he stood. The opposing sides of the controversy may be summed up admirably by the comparison of its two leading men - Thomas A. Huxley who believed that the future of the world rested upon her ardent pursuit of Science; and Matthew Arnold who believed that a nation's cultural pursuits would ultimately determine her worth and standing. Both Arnold and Huxley were before the public. They both expressed their views in lectures and papers which were widely listened to and read. Both went on tours to America where they gave many public addresses and reached a large number of the American public. In this way the influence of each became international and each gained his due share of prestige.

Huxley states what he means by education in his essay on A Liberal Education. He writes: "It is a very plain and elementary truth, that the life, the fortune, and the happiness of every one of us, and, more or less, of those who are connected with us, do depend upon our knowing something of the rules of a game infinitely more difficult and complicated than chess.....The chess-board is the world, the pieces are the phenomena of the

universe, the rules of the game are what we call the laws of Nature.....Well, what I mean by education is learning the rules of this mighty game. In other words, education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature, under which name I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways; and the fashioning of the affections and of the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws. For me, education means neither more nor less than this. Anything which professes to call itself education must be tried by this standard, and if it fails to stand the test, I will not call it education."[1]

In his essay on Science and Art and Education Huxley defines his idea of the object of education. It will be evident that his idea is more restricted in its scope than Arnold's when the two are compared. Huxley thus states his position: "I take it that the whole object of education is, in the first place, to train the faculties of the young in such a manner as to give their possessors the best chance of being happy and useful in their generation; and, in the second place, to furnish them with the most important positions of that immense capitalized experience of the human race which we call knowledge of various kinds. I am using the term knowledge in its widest possible sense; and the question is, what subjects to select by training and discipline, in which the object I have just defined may be best attained."[2]

The classical extremists who saw no good in the line of reasoning of the scientists, as represented by Huxley and others even more radical, are not typical of Arnold, who was a safe

1. Science and Education. Essays by Thomas H. Huxley. New York and London. pp.82-83.
2. Science and Education. Huxley. p.174.

conservative in all his opinions. Arnold took the golden mean and attempted to combine the best of both positions, although he frankly contended that the best of Literature was better than the best of Science. Arnold felt that every man should choose the subjects which would give him soberness, righteousness, and wisdom, the qualities which make for conduct. He gained these ideas from Plato, who was to most people of Arnold's time a mere unpractical and impracticable visionary.[1] Arnold furthermore advanced the conclusion that the aim of education should be to make a complete man - a gentleman and a scholar. If rightly developed, then were four chief powers to be gained from education which make for character, first the power of conduct, a word which always reminds one of the phrase Arnold was so fond of using - "Conduct is three-fourths of human life," secondly the power of intellect and knowledge, which was he believed of great value in itself but in the end was subservient to character formation, thirdly the power of duty, which made the development of a high moral sense a necessary auxiliary of education, and lastly, the power of social life and manners,[2] a power without which, Arnold saw the possessor of the other powers would be seriously handicapped.

The average Englishman of Arnold's day was willing to admit that the second power - that of intellect and knowledge - was a sufficiently high aim for education, since it bettered his ability to earn a livlihood and had many purely practical phases. Arnold saw the same danger of the prevalence of this belief confronting America, where science seemed to lead the way, as well

1. Selections from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold. Gates. p.104.
2. Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol. X. Mixed Essays. p.VIII.

as in England. In his timely discourses on the topic, as has been stated, Arnold took the middle ground. He did not plead for an exclusively literary education but urged that it was necessary to know science, and social and political facts in order that one might know the best that has been said and thought in the world.

Arnold saw clearly that there was a fundamental distinction between education and instruction. Cardinal Newman also saw the distinction and stated it in his masterly exposition - "The Idea of a University." The theme is so pertinent to the matter in question that it demands quotation at some length: "You see, then, here are two methods of Education; the end of the one is to be philosophical, of the other to be mechanical; the one rises towards general idea, the other is exhausted upon what is particular and external. Let me not be thought to deny the necessity, or to decry the benefit, of such attention to what is particular and practical, as belong to the useful or mechanical arts; life could not go on without them; we owe our daily welfare to them; their exercise is the duty of the many, and we owe to the many a debt of gratitude for fulfilling that duty. I only say that knowledge, in proportion as it tends more and more to beparticular, ceases to be knowledge.....When I speak of knowledge I mean something intellectual...something which takes a view of things; which sees more than the senses convey; which reasons upon what it sees, and while it sees; which invests it with an idea....And this is the reason, why it is more correct, as well as more usual, to speak of a University as a place of education,

than of instruction, though, when knowledge is concerned, instruction would at first sight have seemed the more appropriate word. We are instructed, for instance, in manual exercise, in the fine and useful arts, in trades, and in ways of business; for there are methods, which have little or no effect upon the mind itself, are contained in rules committed to memory, to tradition, or to use and bear upon an end external to themselves. But education is higher now; it implies an action upon our mental nature, and the formation of a character; it is something individual and permanent, and is commonly spoken of in connexion with religion and virtue."[1]

Now it was this idea of mere instruction to which Arnold objected so strenuously. His objection to Science as a matter of individual pursuit was, that any single line of study was one-sided and failed to give the student a well-rounded development. Since Science gives facts very largely, education in that line becomes a process merely of gaining information and training in discipline - both requisites of an education but not worthy ends in themselves, since the education of the head alone is considered and the education of the heart, as it relates to character is neglected. Furthermore "the practical" in itself is impotent to influence the emotions or conduct, whereas, Arnold gleaned as evidence of the value of Literature, its power to discipline the emotions and to inform the moral sense. Science he believed eagerly seeks truth for its own sake while Literature embodies the wide aims of character, beauty, and truth.

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1. The Idea of a University - John Henry Cardinal Newman. London 1893, pp.112-114.

In order to reach this desired goal of education in its true sense Arnold would have both Darwin and Wordsworth studied. But he would not demand that each student go through the bulk of scientific works in detail, as the necessary points of information - the results and the conclusions - could be gained by quicker and equally profitable methods. Arnold believed in letting each generation profit by the experiences of the last, and then building upon that foundation, without any needless laborious repetition of effort. In contrast, literature, in itself, Arnold asserted, must be studied broadly, soundly, and deeply for its deepest appreciation; and its deepest appreciation would give one the key to the realization of civilization.

Arnold realized that the ability to gain the point of view of other nations was of the utmost importance to the man of educational attainment. One of the best ways of gaining this ability, as he suggested, is by the comparative examination of their literatures. A momentary digression might be made at this point to comment upon the slight stress that is placed upon the study of comparative literature in our higher institutions. The objection may be stated that but little of our own literature is thoroughly grasped and studied in its complete significance by the average student. Then an attempt should be made to cover the field is impossible and absurd; but it is reasonable to expect that lines of thought and study which are suggested, may be worked out to their completion later. The important work done in any field is not, as a rule, accomplished by students but by those who elaborate and complete the suggested problems of their

student courses. The same awakening of interest in lines of thought other than our own and the broadening of national horizons might be the result if a more general attempt were made to introduce students to other literature.

The test of sweet reasonableness which Arnold was so frequently applying to all enterprises and motives, is fulfilled admirably when applied to himself. First of all he was not an extremist but granted that there was an element of worth in the main ideas of the humanists and the realists.[1] Any measure of hostility on Arnold's part may be attributed to the sincere apprehension he had, lest the Philistines, under the control of the Materialistic School of Mill, should become a too dominant force, with their ideas of unrestrained personal liberty and their intense eagerness for the promotion of England's industrial prosperity. The shoals upon which Arnold feared England would become wrecked were those of mediocrity, and bare commonplaces in all lines of national life. In accordance with these ideas Arnold could not accept the popular idea that education existed for the sake of enabling a man to succeed in this world. This, he asserted, was a purely secondary aim, while the primary purpose of education was to make a man know himself and the world.[2] "Such knowledge," he concluded, "is the only sure basis for action, and this basis it is the true aim and office of instruction to supply. To know himself a man must know the capabilities and

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1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.386.
2. Ibid.

performances of the human spirit; and the value of the humanities, of Alterthumwissenschaft, the science of antiquity, is, that it affords for this purpose an unsurpassed source of light and stimulus. Whoever seeks help for knowing himself from knowing the capabilities and performances of the human spirit will nowhere find a more fruitful object of study than in the achievements of Greece in literature and the arts during the two centuries from the birth of Simonides to the death of Plato. And these two centuries are but the flowering point of a long period, during the whole of which the ancient world offers, to the student of the capabilities and performances of the human spirit, lessons of capital performance."[1]

This idea of Arnold's shows the truth and depth of his perception. He manifested his sane and cool judgment in regard to the position taken by the realists and showed how needless the hostility between the two schools was, since both lines of knowledge might, and in fact should be correlated within one man's mind --and that 'the circle of knowledge" rightly includes both Science and the Humanities. To this statement should be added Arnold's restricting phrase that the Humanities were of greater importance because they dealt with human things, while the realities dealt with non-human things.

Neither was Arnold a firm believer in disciplinary studies for their own sakes. His choice of studies would include those which furnish both the essential discipline and the main matter - a knowledge of self and the world-; and in which one grew

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1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.386.

in flexibility of mind, in spiritual moderation, and in a love for the mental world.[1] Since neither the humanities nor the realities should reject each other, the foundational studies should be the same for both, and should include the study of the mother tongue, the elements of Latin and of the chief modern languages, of history, of arithmetic, of geometry, of geography, and of the knowledge of nature.[2]

Arnold believed that each person was called to some type of knowledge by a special aptitude which is inherent. The great problem, he thought, which confronts the teacher is to find and develop each pupil's special aptitude. In general, he said, aptitudes are of two kinds, one for knowing men - the study of the human, the other for knowing the world - the study of nature.[3] Arnold showed his usual foresight and judgment by deeming it unwise for a pupil's predominating interest to be developed in either the human or nature, before his general preparation had been made. His ideal method was the pursuit of both lines of study to the extent of appreciation. Under a system of this mind, the tendency to become narrow and dull, which is a common characteristic of those who follow only one line of interest, would be avoided. Arnold further advocated that only teachers who were masters in their line of study should be allowed to assume the authority to instruct others.

The application of these ideas of Arnold to our educational system would banish, or at least alleviate, some of the

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1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.395.
2. Ibid. p.399.
3. Ibid.

evils of modern education. In the field of higher education a problem of grave import which has been suggested before is found,- the current tendency to specialize in some particular line before an adequate foundation is constructed. An overwhelming tendency exists in many of our great Universities to become more and more utilitarian in their aims. In the different departments of the same University, Engineering and English - the Classics and Cheese-making are studied simultaneously. At the end of four years individuals from each department wear their caps and gowns, receive their degrees and go forth in the world as <u>educated</u> men. Our contention is that the merely industrially efficient man has not gained an education - but that he has become a trained man by a process of instruction. Without any idea of disparaging the benefits or the difficulties of this contrasting type of work, it remains true that the persnn with such an equipment lacks precisely what Matthew Arnold said he would lack. He has sacrificed cultural training for economic efficiency and has been dominated by the theory of service in practical lines. He lacks - speaking of the general average - the abiding elements of world's progress - the combination of intellectual and moral forces - and the instinctive demand for the <u>grand style</u>, which is gained only through the personal study of grand things. It is obvious that there is no <u>grand style</u> - no permanent formative influence exerted by industrial or mechanical studies, as the very object of those branches is to enable a man to compete successfully with the forces of nature and to utilize them - and not to aid him in leading a deeper inner life of moral value to the world. He is not taught to rise above the mediocre and to demand the best in everything,

because he lives in a world of things and not ideas. Arnold foresaw the same danger confronting England when he wrote: "I have a conviction that there is a real, an almost imminent danger of England's losing immeasurably in all ways, declining into a sort of greater Holland, for want of what I must still call ideas, for want of perceiving how the world is going and must go, and preparing herself accordingly."[1]

The permanent inspiration and influence which results in one's life from the humanities cannot be over estimated in importance. One cannot say "I wish to live as if always in their sight" of the men who have made America great industrially; but on the other hand any one who has seriously caught the spirit of that which is truly great can never again drop to his former level if once he has felt the uplifting influence of the mighty men of thought. It is, therefore, only reasonable to insist that studies, which are potent to broaden the mind and to cultivate the taste - essential characteristics of an educated man - should be required of every student.

At this point the dangers of the elective systems, so prevalent in Secondary Schools and Colleges may well be considered. It is evident from the results gained in the average High School where the elective system prevails that it is not successful. The average pupil on his entrance chooses studies which appeal to his immature judgment, or those which he knows through the counsel of members of upper classes are "snap courses." The chances are that he will elect a number of commercial courses, for most High Schools are now supplied with those substitutes for

1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. II, p.63

a curriculum of merit. As a result, at the end of four years the chances are that he has an illogical, non-correlated, fragmentary mixture of studies. If the student does not attend college, his High School course has done an injustice to him by not equiping him as well as it might have done. On the other hand, if he does go to college he finds out his mistake upon entering and realizes it more keenly each year. There is at present, a great cry from the High Schools that it is a matter of injustice for them to be subservient to the Colleges and Universities. To any one who know the average Freshman the marvel is that any one could imagine him well equipped on less training and knowledge than he has. The problem of specialization is difficult enough for the Higher Institutions to attempt to meet and the problems they face in producing a type which combines both culture and practical efficiency should not under any consideration be carried over to the Secondary Schools.

Arnold's most theoretical plan was concerned with the Universities. In his day the plan he fostered was a decided remodeling of the old, but now his main ideas are well known in every University community. He stated that it was the duty of the University to foster the idea of systematic knowledge.[1] "The University," he writes, "ought to provide facilities, after the general education is finished, for the young man to go on in that line where his special aptitudes lead him, be it that of languages and literature, of mathematics, of the natural sciences, of the application of these sciences, or any other line, and follow the studies of this line systematically under first-rate

1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.420.

teaching."[1] Arnold believed that the Degree of Bachelor of Arts as granted by Oxford and Cambridge signified that the graduate was merely ready to begin his special line of work, rather than that he was a completely educated man. Throughout England, he felt, there was by far, a too insufficient number of students under University instruction. For this reason, he urged, special schools were needed which would bring high grade instruction to the students, rather than compelling them to go to Oxford and Cambridge for it. Under this idea, Arnold advocated, that centres of superior instruction were to be formed throughout England and Professors were to be engaged to give lectures in such places, This departure marks the beginning of the University extension of which Arnold was the originator. As regards the question of rewarding degrees Arnold was very conservative, and one can well imagine with what degree of horror he would have seen the great number of "fresh-water" colleges in our country, which annually grant a large number of degrees and nominally place many young Americans in the ranks of the intellectual aristocracy. In England, Arnold would have only Oxford, Cambridge, and London exist as degree granting bodies.[2] Under a system of this kind, with a high standard of state-control, a uniform standardization of the meaning of a degree would be secured and it would not exist as an empty honor, since all higher institutions would be doing a uniform, excellent grade of work. The idea of standardization is of utmost importance to an educational system with schools as diverse and scattered as our own and merits serious consideration.

1. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. p.421.
2. " " " " " " p.428.

One of the largest and most important field of educational work today also has its fundamental principles included in Matthew Arnold's theories. In this department of our Universities the relative values of style and manner, of substance and matter take on a deep significance. The supposition is that the student who presents himself for Graduate work, comes prepared for his work with a first degree, which represents neither an elaborated High School Course nor an attempted specialization, but rather an all-around broad college education. With this liberal foundation the student is properly equipped to begin his task as he possesses a sufficient amount of human interest and breadth of culture to prevent his becoming narrow during his graduate work, although his endeavours centre mainly in one line.

The recognized aim of graduate work is to make some definite contribution to the world's knowledge. In many subjects the topics for research are so completely worked out that it is difficult to find new problems of importance. In such an event the student is assigned some small topic which calls for a great amount of sourcework and results in a minimum of bare facts of knowledge. The line of reasoning may be advanced and with justice, that the student is not working primarily for the importance of result, but rather for the value of the method. Granted the disciplinary value, the possible chances of important discovery in such source work, and the fact that special aptitude fit many for such work, there still remains more to be said for the other side of the question. For the average student - not for the genius - it is fair to ask that his work should contain

elements of subject matter and of thought, which in connection with the disciplinary value will not give only a trained man to the world, but also a type of work and individual which will worthily represent three of four of the best years of a person's life. In general graduate students are of two classes, those who intend to teach and those who intend to devote themselves to research work. For the latter class it is well that his type of work should be narrower and more concentrated; but for the future teacher, whose real function includes the moulding of thought and of character, there should be an increase in human interest, in depth and breadth of ideas, in culture, instead of the tendency to shove all his energy and activity into one narrow groove during his period of preparation.

There are perhaps three reasons of special importance why Arnold's influence in the educational world was so great, aside from the intrinsic value of his ideas.[1] In the first place Arnold was "one of the English writers of high distinction who have pressed upon the nation the fundamental importance of public education, as a factor in the well-being of the state." Through his literary ability, he aroused the interest of thousands, whose concern with administrative matters may be traced to his literary influence. Secondly, "he took delight in making his fellow-countrymen feel ashamed by contrasting the meager educational activities of the English state and the continent." At Arnold's time the English nation was particularly self-confident

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1. A Cyclopedia of Education - Edited by Paul Monroe. New York, 1911. pp. 219-220.
Article on Matthew Arnold by Michael E. Sadler, Professor of Education, University of Manchester

and but little inclined to admit the superiority of any foreign system of social organization. He opposed this habit and idealized foreign methods of education and government, partly to show the the need of English reform, and partly from a natural tendency to see the weakest English habits of mind. Lastly, his influence was great because he was the literary leader in the reaction against individualism in English national life and against the influence which minimized the functions of the State in promoting collective well-being by the means of public education and of state-aided culture."

While our interpretation of Matthew Arnold has been narrowed to a restricted phase of his life's work and of his influence within that particular field, it is impossible to attempt a just estimate of his influence without considering him, for a moment, as the man of many sided interests, for it is not merely with Matthew Arnold, the educator, that we have been dealing but with Matthew Arnold, the poet, the critic, the essayist, the political agitator, the religious reformer, the lecturer, and the prophet of culture. His work in education was thus simply an interest in his life but not the paramount interest. His lines of interest cross and recross with such complexity that only the complete web can represent the full importance of his activity, and the effort made to trace a few of the threads cannot reveal but a limited section of his life's work.

Arnold's direct and persuasive method - shaded by a subtle charm and often tinged with delicate satirical humor - won for him both ardent friends and unsympathetic readers. It

was because of the latter characteristic that popular caricatures of Arnold have represented him as "a 'high priest of the kid-glove persuasion,' as an incorrigible dilettante, a literary fop idling his time away over poetry and recommending the parmaceti of culture as the sovereignest thing in nature for the inward bruises of the spirit."[1] The trivial nature of such criticism is only too evident to any one who had made a serious adequate study of Arnold and his works and has seen the force and value of his ideas and ideals. By his brilliancy as a literary critic, by his mastery of political irony, and by his politely pitiless satire of English social and intellectual prejudice, Arnold did much to make England self-conscious and dissatisfied with herself, and ready to adopt his educational ideals of making the State an organ of education, in order the the necessary elevation of tone in national life might be effected.[2] There may have been more of the element of the brilliant impressionist than of the scientific observer in Arnold's foreign observations but it was that very quality that popularized the discussion of educational problems and made England realize her critical situation.

The comprehensive influence and application of Arnold's ideas to our educational system from the kindergartens through the most advanced type of graduate and research have been noted, and that throughout the system a sane uniform educational development would result if his plans were worked out. Perhaps his chief immediate influence on his own country was in his reiterated and urgent advice in regard to the province of a liberal secondary education for the masses of the people."[3]

1. Three Studies in Literature. Lewis E. Gates. New York, 1899, p.126
2. Cyclopedia of Education. pp.219-220. (3) on next page)

To estimate completely what he accomplished, it must be born in mind that he was at issue with the bulk of England in opinion and undertook what is always an unpopular office - that of "dictator-general" of the intellectual failings of his own nation.

In order to see that Arnold had the elements of a born educator one has only to observe his life long teaching. He thought that he had ideas which England needed and would profit by having, so he resolved to give them to her; and he did so. One sometimes hears the comment made that no writer who had so little to say as Matthew Arnold ever took so many words to express such a paucity of ideas. This is merely a misunderstanding of Arnold's conception of his own mission. He chose his style purposely and expressed his fundamental ideas and teachings in simple phrases, which would be likely to catch the popular ear and having once caught it, would be likely to remain. Arnold's skill as a phrase-maker is truly notable and that his phrases were of note among his contemporaries is evident by the letter he wrote in 1881 to his sister, which reads: "On Friday night I had a long talk with Lord Beaconfield. He ended by declaring that I was the only living Englishman who had become a classic in his own lifetime. The fact is what I have done in establishing a number of current phrases, such as Philistinism, Sweetness and Light, and all that is just the thing to strike him."[1] It was no doubt, this pedagogical method shown in Arnold's writings that brought his lessons home to the common people, for they unconsciously through gaining his phrases, gained also some

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3. A Cyclopedia of Education. pp.219-220.
1. Letters of Matthew Arnold Vol. III, p.90.

of his ideas, which were instrumental in elevating the tone of their lives.

Arnold states here and there throughout his writings his aims which can find no better expression than in his own characteristic Attic prose. In the lectures on Celtic Literature he states that it has been his aim to lead the English to"reunite themselves with their better mind and with the world through science"; and he has attempted to assist them to "conquer the hard unintelligence, which was just then their bane; to supple and reduce it by culture, by a growth in the variety, fulness, and sweetness of their spiritual life."[1] In the Preface to his first volume of Essays in criticism he freely says that he is attempting "to pull out a few more stops in that powerful, but at present some-what narrow-toned organ, the modern Englishman."[2] In Culture and Anarchy he explains that his object is to show the value of culture to the English; to urge them to aim for perfection; and to attempt to make "reason and the will of God prevail."

Arnold was not entirely alone in his belief in the worth of culture and his realization of its importance to future generations, as Charles Kingsley paid the following sincere tribute to the enduring qualities of truth in Culture and Anarchy. He says: "I have at last had time to read carefully your Culture and Anarchy, and here is my verdict if you care for it. That it is an exceeding wise and true book, and likely, as such, to be little listened to this autumn, but to sink into the ground and die, and bear fruit next spring - when the spring comes."[2]

1. Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol.5. On the Study of Celtic Literature, p.150.
2. Ibid. Vol. III, p.VIII.

As Kingsley perceived, Arnold with all of his activity still maintained a clear view of the future and regarded his work as one which would last and would eventually bring results, in spite of his apparent frequent failures. One of his memorable notebook insertions shows how vital this aim was to him. It reads: "My view of our system of learning, and of German mental activity generally, has been confirmed. Each labours mentally for himself, forgetting the general cause. While the present generation has its crying needs, we of this same generation are filling storehouses with provision for future centuries."[1]

The central message of Culture and Anarchy, and the key message of all Arnold's efforts, was his great message through which he expressed his desires to bring more of the Hellemistic elements into the life of the common world, which was almost completely controlled by Hebraic principles of morality amd conduct. Conduct Arnold admitted was three-fourths of human life but he emphasized the fact that one-fourth still remained. It was this one-fourth of life that England overlooked and for which Arnold made his strongest pleas. He ardently wished to add to the current sense of mere uprightness and morality, a sensibility and sensitiveness to beauty, knowledge, and vital truth, as factors in a national and an individual life of well-being. In a word, "he combined Light with Sweetness, and in the combination lies his abiding power." For Arnold's Hellenism was

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1. Matthew Arnold's Notebooks, p.43.

sane, visible and tangible, and he regarded proportion and symmetry in his plea for perfection, for totality, and for self-culture. One of Arnold's great masters - Goethe - summarizes the heart of Arnold's message in the formula for an ideal life which says - "Im Ganzen Guten Wahren, resolut zu liben." Yet the exquisite spirituality of Arnold did not have recourse to "a tower of ivory." He did not retreat to the inner world, where apart from the crudeness of the Philistine work-a-day world he might have indulged his poetic fancies and let his dreams have their way; but rather by not yielding to the charm of seclusion and creative fancy he realized the world as it was, and grappling with the forces of materialism single-handed at times, he did his best to improve it. He realized only too keenly its imperfections and foibles but he had faith in the instincts developed by civilization and believed that still higher capabilities and realizations were existing for the future.

The immediate means he saw at his disposal was a system of national education which, if rightly ordered, might reach all classes at their most formative age and might become the centre of the foundational work for a broader truer individual life, which would result in a broader truer national life of nobleness and intelligence. It must be granted that the ideal Arnold set was higher than we have now attained. Yet it still remains a worthy ideal, however slowly we approach it and the influence of Arnold is nearer and nearer to the goal of perfection. He still survives in our national life and works through our great national system of education - in the demands for a social

and spiritual life, in the standards of literary attainments, in the belief in the humanizing cultural influence of the older studies as contrasted with those which afford utilitarian and vocational training, and in the combination of culture and morality which results in the demand for things of real excellence in literary, social, political, and educational activities.

With those who knew Matthew Arnold immediately, we as a part of the Remnant, who strive for beauty, truth, and perfection may truthfully and reverently say: "To have known him, to have loved him, to have had a place in his regard, is Part of our life's inalterable good."[1]

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1. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Vol. III, p.339.

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84:670-74	Estimate of Matthew Arnold	F. E. Coates

THE LITERARY WORLD

14:366	Matthew Arnold	
14:446	Matthew Arnold in America	
13:141, 148	Matthew Arnold's Irish Essays	M. Stokes
19:168	Matthew Arnold on the United States	
19:152	Memorial Verses on Matthew Arnold	H. N. Powers

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE

177:433-36	Matthew Arnold	
98:629-32	Matthew Arnold and Thomas Carlyle	
177:511-12	Arnold's Earliest Publication	Edmund Gosse
178:88-96	Matthew Arnold	H. D. Trail
221:103-06	Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their Influence on Education	

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

33:209	Culture and Anarchy	
125:473	Report on French Education	

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

3:577	Literature and Dogma	

MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE

16:271	The Prophet of Culture	H. Sedgwick
Jan. 1863	The Bishop and the Philosopher	
Feb. 1863	Dr. Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church	
Sept. 1863	A French Eton	Matthew Arnold
Feb. 1864	A French Eton	Matthew Arnold
May, 1864	A French Eton	Matthew Arnold
Dec. 1863	A Word More about Skinoza	Matthew Arnold
Apr. 1866. 13:444-54	Thyrsis	Matthew Arnold
Feb. 1869	On the Modern Element in Literature (not reprinted)	
Feb. 1874	A Speech at Westminster	Matthew Arnold
Jan. 1876	Italian Art and Literature before Giotto and Dante	Matthew Arnold
Apr. 1876	The Church of England	Matthew Arnold
July 1876	A Last Word on the Busick Bill	Matthew Arnold
Dec. 1876:35: 132-138	The New Series	Matthew Arnold
June 1878:38:153	Johnson's Lives	Matthew Arnold
July 1879	Wordsworth	Matthew Arnold
40:81-85	Poor Matthais	Matthew Arnold
June 1883	Address to the Wordsworth Society	Matthew Arnold
May 1884	Emerson	Matthew Arnold
Sept. 1887	Amiel	Matthew Arnold
1:53	Matthew Arnold as a Social Reformer	H. H. Dodwell
65:152	Lord Coleridge on Matthew Arnold	
89:385	Matthew Arnold as a Popular Poet	W. A. Sibbald

MANCHESTER QUARTERLY

2:86	Poems of Matthew Arnold	C. E. Tynes

MANHATTAN

2:515	Matthew Arnold's Critical Writings	J. Benton

METHODIST REVIEW

58:757	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	T. W. Hunt
53:867	Matthew Arnold	A. B. Hyde

MONTH

58:185,328, 549	Matthew Arnold on Continental Education	J. F. Splain

MURRAY'S MAGAZINE

Jan. 1887	General Grant	Matthew Arnold
Feb. 1887	General Grant	Matthew Arnold

THE NATION

22:458	Matthew Arnold	L. Stephen
46:315	Matthew Arnold	F. W. H. Meyers
16:659	Matthew Arnold: His Criticism of Life	W. A. Appleyard
18:414	Higher Schools and Universities in Germany	
46:204	The Discomfort Matthew Arnold	
86:28-29	Likeness between Matthew Arnold's Forsaken Merman and the Deceived Merman	
86:416-7	Matthew Arnold Twenty Years After	
88:136-7: Feb. 11'09	Arnold's Church of Bron.	G. Norton
29:276	Essays	W. C. Bronnell

THE NATION (Continued)

1: 24	Essays	E. W. Gurney
61:451-56	Matthew Arnold's Letters	J. H. McDaniels
26:471	Matthew Arnold's Letters	A. Audtin
27:274	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	G. E. Woodberry
78:318-19	Matthew Arnold and His Relation to the Thought of Our Times	W. H. Dawson

THE NATIONAL REVIEW

11:415	Matthew Arnold	A. Austin
10:768	Matthew Arnold on the Lives of the Poets	A. Austin
Jan. 1864	Joubert (unsigned)	
Nov. 1864	The Function of Criticism at the Present Time	
Mar. 1888	Disestablishment in Wales	
6:259	Merope: A Tragedy	

NEW ECLECTIC

1:144	Matthew Arnold and A. C. Swinburne	

NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE

9:632	Matthew Arnold	J. H. Crocker
34:92	Literature and Dogma	J. M. Sturtevant

NEW QUARTERLY REVIEW

3:36	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	

NEW WORLD

5:262	Letters of Matthew Arnold	M. Reed
6:629	Matthew Arnold and Orthodoxy	L. S. Houghton

NINETEENTH CENTURY

39:433	Matthew Arnold	F. Hanson
38:1040	Matthew Arnold	J. Morley
Feb. 1885	A Word More about Amrine	
Mar. 1877	Falkland	Matthew Arnold
Dec. 1877	A Guide to English Literature	
Jan. 1879. 5:1	S. S. Lusitania. Sonnet. (not reprinted.	Matthew Arnold
Aug. 1879	The French Play in London	" "
July 1880	The Future of Liberalism	" "
Apr. and June, 1881	The Incompatibles	" "
Jan. 1882. 11:1-8	Westminster Abbey	" "
May 1882	A Word about America	" "
Aug. 1882	Literature and Science	" "
Nov. 1882	A Liverpool Address	" "
Apr. and May 1883	Isaiah of Journalism	" "
Apr. 1884	Numbers: or the Majority and the Remnant	" "
May 1886	The Nadis of Liberalism	" "
Jan. 1887	The Zenith of Conservatism	" "
Apr. 1887	A Friend of God (not reprinted)	" "
May 1887	Up to Easter (not reprinted)	" "
Jan. 1888	Shelley	" "
Apr. 1888	Civilization in the United States (Lecture)	

THE NORTH AMERICAN

138:428	Matthew Arnold	E. P. Whipple
146:515	Matthew Arnold on the United States	J. B. Fry
146:657	Matthew Arnold as a Poet	R. H. Stoddard
147:473	Landscapes of Matthew Arnold	E. Lockwood
188:666-81	Matthew Arnold as a Poet tried by his Sohrab and Rustum	C.Wilkinson

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

146:515-19

NORTHERN BRITISH REVIEW

21:493	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
42:158	Essays on Criticism	
50:190	Culture and Anarchy	

THE PRINCETON REVIEW

6:355	Matthew Arnold as an English Writer	F. W. Hunt

ONCE A WEEK

27:320	Matthew Arnold (with portrait)	

OUR DAY

1:478	Matthew Arnold	

THE OUTLOOK

78:679-82	Matthew Arnold as a Critic of Society and Religion	
91:144-5	Arnold's Reading	

OLD AND NEW

8:497	Literature and Dogma	E. E. Hale
8:746	Matthew Arnold on Israel	C. Palbray

THE PALL MALL GAZETTE

Mar. 20, 1866	-An Explanation	Matthew Arnold
July 21, 1866	-Geist	" "
Aug. 4, 1866	-Democracy	" "
Aug. 7, 1866	-An Aggrieved Friend	" "
Aug. 15, 1866	-"Ce Dogue"	" "
Nov. 8, 1866	-Prussian Tenant Right	" "
Apr. 20, 1867	-Education I	" "
Apr. 22, 1867	-Education II	" "
June 8, 1869	-The Deceased Wife's Sister	" "
Aug. 9, 1870	-England's Position	" "
Nov. 21, 1870	-The Great Heart of England	" "
Nov. 25, 1870	-"Audi Alteram Partem"	" "
Nov. 29, 1870	-A Sad Story	" "
Apr. 8, 1875	-Roman Catholics and the State	" "
Dec. 6, 1882	-At the Princess's	" "
Mar. 30, 1883	-The Old Play goes at the Play	" "
May 25, 1883	-An Old Playgoer on Impulse	" "
May 30, 1883	-An Old Playgoer at the Lyceum	" "
Oct. 23, 1884	-Hamlet Once More	" "
Aug. 12, 1884	-George Sand	" "
May 30, 1870	-A First Requisite for Church Reform	" "
Mar. 3, 1877	-German Letters on English Education	" "
Feb. 14, 1882	-On the Use of the Word Clotun	
Nov. 8, 1882	-A French Worthy	
Jan. 7, 1887	-English at the University	

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

4:577	Literature and Dogma	

POET LORE

6:76	Poetic Characteristics of Matthew Arnold	C. G. Barnard
7:497	Blank Verse of Sohrab and Rustum	H. E. Franklin
8:134	A Bit of Art from Matthew Arnold	L. A. Paton

PROTESTANT REVIEW

10:99	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY

3:86	Literature and Dogma	

PUTNAM'S MAGAZINE

6:225	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
1:187-91 Oxford and Cambridge	Matthew Arnold and Leslie Stephen	E. S. P. Hayne

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

14:123	The Poetry of Matthew Arnold	T. M. Parrott

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

Jan. 1877	A French Critic on Milton	Matthew Arnold
Jan. 1878	A French Critic on Goethe	Matthew Arnold
167:398	Matthew Arnold	
201:221	Matthew Arnold	T. H. Warren

REFORM CHRISTIAN REVIEW

53:74	The Spiritual Side of Matthew Arnold	

ROME. Rome

1875: pp. 49-91	A Wreath of Stray Leaves (not reprinted)	

SAINT JAMES

40:59	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	T. Payne
29:29, 181, 236	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	

SAINT JAMES (Continued)

21:375	New Poems	I. G. Ascher

SATURDAY REVIEW

65:459	Matthew Arnold	
57:442	Literature and Dogma	
80:757	Letters of Matthew Arnold	E. Dowden
72:517	Lord Coleridge on Matthew Arnold	
53:333	Irish Essays	
66:588	Essays in Criticism	
54:464	Matthew Arnold on Lucidity	
60:119	Discourses in America	
81:270	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE

30:105-20	An Estimate of Matthew Arnold	W. C. Brownell
4:537	Matthew Arnold (with portrait)	A. Birrell
18:281	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	G. S. Merriam
7:463	Matthew Arnold	E. C. Stedman

SEWANEE REVIEW

7:189	Matthew Arnold	C. F. Smith
2:33	Matthew Arnold and Obermann	W. W. Guthrie
4:181	Matthew Arnold's Letters	
9:442	Matthew Arnold: Study of His Poetry	
10:143, 302	Study of Matthew Arnold	L. Lewisohn

SOUTHERN REVIEW

14:245	Literature and Dogma	

THE SPECTATOR

56:1342	Matthew Arnold in America	
90:534	Notebooks of Matthew Arnold	
55:1281	Matthew Arnold on Sweetness and Light	
61:538	Matthew Arnold	
57:1611	Matthew Arnold's Lay Sermon	
61:962	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
58:447	Christian Catechism According to Matthew Arnold	
61:1670	Matthew Arnold as a Critic	
67:638	Matthew Arnold and Horace	
70:382	Popularity of Matthew Arnold	
76:800	Popularity of Matthew Arnold	
75:814	Charm of Matthew Arnold	

TEMPLE BAR

27:35,170	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
28:33	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
84:106	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
108:388	Thyrisis	C. Fisher
109:540	Some Aspects of Matthew Arnold	Norgate

THE THEATRE

39:70	Matthew Arnold as a Theatrical Critic	H. Elliott

THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC

6:585	Culture and Anarchy

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

10:377	Matthew Arnold
15:88	Matthew Arnold as a Religious Worker-W. Brims

THE TINSLEY

3:146	Matthew Arnold	

TIME

16:1	Note on Poems of Matthew Arnold -Kent	
18:657	Matthew Arnold	G.W.E.Russell

THE TIMES

May 22, 1886	The Political Crisis	Matthew Arnold
Aug. 6, 1886	After the Elections	Matthew Arnold

UNITARIAN REVIEW

26:345	Matthew Arnold	A. S. Francis

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

47:339	Theology of Matthew Arnold	G. T. Knight

THE VICTORIA MAGAZINE

11:375	New Poems	Matthew Arnold
Nov. 1863	Marcus Aurelius	Matthew Arnold

THE VICTORIS REGIA

1861. pp. 177-183	A Southern Night	Matthew Arnold

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

4:112	The Ethnological in Matthew Arnols	R. S. Starbird

WESTMINSTER REVIEW

6:146	Poetry of Matthew Arnold	
80:469	Matthew Arnold as a Critic	
142:650	Ethical Tendency of Matthew Arnold	T. Bradfield
145:40	Matthew Arnold's Letters	D. H. Hannigan
149:161	Matthew Arnold as a Political and Social Critic	B. M. Oakesshott
157:300	Blunders of Matthew Arnold	F. Grierson
159:421-8	Arnold and His Recent Critics	C. H. Harvey

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PUBLICATION OF MATTHEW ARNOLD'S WRITINGS, EXCLUDING REPRINTS FROM STANDING TYPE

1840. Alaric at Rome.

1843. Cromwell

1849. The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems.
Sonnet to the Hungarian Nation. (Examiner).

1850. Memorial Verses. (Fraser's Magazine.)

1852. Empedocles on Etna and Other Poems.

1853. Poems. A New Edition. (First Series.)

1854. Poems. (First Series.) Second Edition.

1855. Poems. (Second Series)
Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse. (Fraser's Magazine.)
Haworth Churchyard. (Fraser's Magazine.)

1857. Poems. (First Series.) Third Edition.

1858. Merope.

1859. England and the Italian Question.

1860. Saint Brandan. (Fraser's Magazine.)
Men of Genius. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Report to the Education Commission. Confidential Edition.

1861. A Southern Night. (Victoria Regia.)
Report to the Education Commission. Published Edition.
Popular Education in France.
On Translating Homer.

1862. The Twice Revised Code. (Fraser's Magazine.)
On Translating Homer. Last Words.
Creweian Oration.

1863. Maurice de Guerin. (Fraser's Magazine.)
The Bishop and the Philosopher. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Dr. Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church. Macmillan's Magazine.)
Dante and Beatrice. (Fraser's Magazine.)

Eugenie de Guerin. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Henrich Heine. (Cornhill Magazine.)
A French Eton. Part I. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Marcus Aurelius. (Victoria Magazine.)
A Word more about Spinoza. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Cromwell. Second Edition.

1864. A French Eton. Parts II. and III. (Macmillan's Magazine.) Joubert. (National Review.)
Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment. (Cornhill Magazine.)
The Literary Influence of Academies. (Cornhill Magazine.)
The Functions of Criticism at the Present Time. (National Review.)
A French Eton.

1865. Essays in Criticism. (First Series.)

1866. My Countrymen. (Cornhill Magazine.)
The Study of Celtic Literature. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Thyrsis. (Macmillan's Magazine.)

1867. Culture and its Enemies. (Cornhill Magazine.)
New Poems.
On the Study of Celtic Literature.

1868. Anarchy and Authority. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Report to Schools Inquiry Commission.
Schools and Universities on the Continent.
New Poems. Second Edition.

1869. On the Modern Element in Literature. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Obermann. (Academy)
Sainte-Beuve. (Academy.)
St. Paul and Protestantism. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Culture and Anarchy.
Poems. First Collected Edition. 2 Vols.
Essays in Criticism. Second Edition.

1870. Puritanism and the Church of England. (Cornhill Magazine.)
St. Paul and Protestantism.
St. Paul and Protestantism. Second Edition.

1871. Literature and Dogma. (Cornhill Magazine.)
A Persian Passion Play. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Friendship's Garland.

1872. A Bible Reading for Schools.

1873. New Rome. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Literature and Dogma.
Literature and Dogma. Second Edition.

1874. A Speech at Westminister. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Review of Objections to 'Literature and Dogma.' Parts I and II. (Contemporary Review.)
Higher Schools and Universities in Germany.
Literature and Dogma. Fourth Edition.
Rome-Sickness. (A Wreath of Stray Leaves: Rome.)

1875. Review of Objections to 'Literature and Dogma.' Parts III. to VII. (Contemporary Review.)
God and the Bible.
Culture and Anarchy. Second Edition.
St. Paul and Protestantism. Third Edition.
Essays in Criticism. Third Edition.
The Great Prophecy of Israel's Restoration. (Edited.)

1876. The New Sirens. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Italian Art and Literature before Giotto and Dante. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Bishop Butler and the Zeit-Geist. (Contemporary Review.)
The Church of England. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
A Last Word on the Burials Bill. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
A Psychological Parallel. (Contemporary Review.)
Literature and Dogma. Fifth Edition.

1877. A French Critic on Milton. (Quarterly Review.)
Falkland. (A Nineteenth Century.)
George Sand. (Fortnightly Review.)
A Guide to English Literature. (Nineteenth Century.)
Poems. New and Complete Edition. 2 vols.
Last Essays on Church and Religion.

1878. A French Critic on Goethe. (Quarterly Review.)
Equality. (Fortnightly Review.)
Johnson's Lives. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Irish Catholicism and British Liberalism. (Fortnightly Review.)
'Porro Unum est Necessarium.' (Fortnightly Review.)
Selected Poems.
Johnson's Lives of the Poets. (Edited.)

1879. S.S. Lusitania. (Nineteenth Century.)
'Ecce, Convertimur ad Gentes.' (Fortnightly Review.)
A Speech at Eton. (Cornhill Magazine.)
Wordsworth. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
The French Play in London. (Nineteenth Century.)
Mixed Essays.
Poems of Wordsworth. (Chosen and Edited.)
Introduction, on Poetry. (The Hundred Greatest Men.)

1880. Copyright. (Fortnightly Review.)
The Future of Liberalism. (Nineteenth Century.)
Prose Passages.
On the Study of Poetry. (The English Poets.)
Thomas Gray. (The English Poets.)
John Keats. (The English Poets.)

1881. Geist's Grave. (Fortnightly Review.)
Byron. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
The Incompatibles. (Nineteenth Century.)
Irish Grammar Schools.(Fortnightly Review.)
Poems. New Edition. 2 vols.
Poetry of Byron. (Chosen and Arranged.)
Edmund Burke on Irish Affairs. (Collected and Arranged.)

1882. Westminister Abbey. (Nineteenth Century.)
Poor Matthias. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
A Word about America. (Nineteenth Century.)
An Eton Boy. (Fortnightly Review.)
Literature and Science. (Nineteenth Century.)
A Liverpool Address. (Nineteenth Century.)
Irish Essays and Others.
Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. Second Edition.
Culture and Anarchy. Third Edition.

1883. Isaiah of Jerusalem. (Nineteenth Century.)
Address to the Wordsworth Society. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
The Matthew Arnold Birthday Book.
Isaiah of Jerusalem. (Edited.)
Literature and Dogma. Popular Edition.

1884. Numbers. (Nineteenth Century.)
Emerson. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Essays in Criticism. Fourth Edition.
God and the Bible. Popular Edition.

1885. A Word More about America. (Nineteenth Century.)
A Comment on Christmas. (Contemporary Review.)
Poems. Library Edition. 3 vols.
Discourses in America.

1886. The Nadir of Liberalism. (nineteenth Century.)
Special Report on Elementary Education on the Continent. Official Edition.
Johnson's Lives of the Poets. Fourth Edition.
Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve. (Encyclopaedia Britannica.)

1887. Kaiser Dead. (Fortnightly Review.)
Horatian Echo. (Century Guild Hobby Horse.)
The Zenith of Conservatism. (Nineteenth Century.)
General Grant. (Murray's Magazine.)
A 'Friend of God.' (Nineteenth Century.)
Up to Easter. (Nineteenth Century.)
From Easter to August. (Nineteenth Century.)
Amiel. (Macmillan's Magazine.)
Count Leo Tolstoi. (Fortnightly Review.)
Schools. (The Reign of Queen Victoria.)
St. Paul and Protestantism. Popular Edition.

1888. Shelley. (Nineteenth Century.
Disestablishment in Wales. (national Review.)
Civilisation in the United States. (Nineteenth Century.)
Milton. (Century Magazine.)
Special Report on Elementary Education on the Continent. Education Reform League Edition.
Essays in Criticism. Second Series.

1889. Reports on Elementary Schools.
Address to the Wordsworth Society. (Wordsworthiana.)
Culture and Anarchy. Popular Edition.

1890. Poetical Works. Popular Edition.

1891. Cromwell. Third Edition.
The Study of Celtic Literature. Popular Edition.
Irish Essays. Popular Edition.

1892. A French Eton, etc.

1895. Letters of Matthew Arnold. 2 vols.

1896. On Translating Homer. Popular Edition.

1897. Friendship's Garland. Second Edition.

1901. Letters of Matthew Arnold. Eversley Series Edition. 2 vols.

1902. Matthew Arnold's Notebooks.
Literature and Dogma. Rationalist Press Association Edition.

1903. Friendship's Garland. Popular Edition.
Last Essays on Church and Religion. Popular Edition.
Mixed Essays. Popular Edition.

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